



# THE SAMURAI SOURCEBOOK

# STEPHEN TURNBULL

# DEDICATED TO MY FAMILY: 10, ALEX, RICHARD AND KATE

#### Cassell & Co

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#### Frontispiece and jacket illustrations:

The frontispiece is a print by Koniyoshi depicting the samural Alex bi Misochika was related in Alexichi Balanide, and fough breath him at the battle of Manuzakia in 1882, where they were defeated by Tootoomi Hidocooki. It is taid that during Hidocooki. It is important of the interfelable for following only Misochika rose up one of Hidocooki. It is important to the interfelable for the following one of the following the other important of the interfelable for one of Hidocookie readors and use blassed William. The image of the rhip, Misochika Bood-stained and with sword in band, angegring becently the weight of this sublimous

That drooped across his shoulders, is a very cask and powerful one. It also contrasts starkly with the colourful vec controlled image of the samural warrior depicted on the front cover, which is of the hero Nasa Yoichi loosing an arrow at the start of the battle of Yashinas in 184. This is from a hanging scroll in the Watanabe Museum, Tousuri, and shows the moment when this accomplished archer shot a fam

from off the mast of one of the Tairs ships, a feat of consummate shill. The samual is swedged and on the back cover is almost a compromise between the above no extremes. Taken together, these three visual depictions encompass the wheely specture of the world of the Japanese samural waterior which a the theme of rish book. The background pictures to the chapter bacedings show a murch past by the army of Konish thickages in 1952 and are taken from the Plane Tailch.

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# PREFACE

As I have always had a great respect for Cassell's Source Book series, I was delighted when the publishers invited me to add a Samurai Sourcebook to the collection.

The word 'samural' evokes many images. The most common is surely that of the brave, invincible and individual warrior fighting sword in hand against overwhelming odds. Samural', however, frequently appears as a collective noun, signifying a whole class of warrior types, or as an adjective, e.g. 'samural warrafer.' All these usages are correct at various times in Japanese history, and all will be explored in this book.

It is my intention that this book should be seen as the saturdar deference work on the samural in the English language. Achieving this has been no mean feat. In size alone, the volume is equivalent to almost four of my other works on the samural published by Cassell, and this was a considerable challenge. While wishing to be comprehensive. I had no desire unnecessarily to duplicate material otherwise available, and I have been exceptionally fortunate in the sources available to me for the fortunate in the sources available to me for the best of the comprehensive catalogue of biographies, holdings and herality of the semural class.

The material for this has come from many directions, and almost all of it is new. It covers the great and the glorious, the brave and the gnomin-tous. The reader will therefore full reference to Tokugawa leyasu, who scaled the pinnacle of samural achievement with the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Yet as well as the great heroes of samural nistory, the reader will also find the bit players in the great drama that was bedieved layout the properties of the samural achieves of samural achieves of samural to the the control of the samural to the samural should be allowed to have cut off his own head, and there is also Kwapuma Rokustue, who died the most ignominous death in samural history by being pulled over a cliff edge by a Korean courtesa.

Almost as large as the catalogue of samural is the catalogue of battles and siteges, which I have tried to make as comprehensive as possible. Some more important struggles receive a fuller treatment. Arms and armour, too, are dealt with in great detail, and the sections on strategy and tactics contain a great deal of new material, most of it never before translated into English. This includes the very important Zöhyö Monogatori, with its minutely dealtied descriptions of how to use foot soldiers successfully, written by a veteran of the Tokugawa army.

For the case studies I have selected different examples from those I used in Samural Warfare. These include much new material from Korean sources, which give a totally different outlook on the Japanese mussions when compared to previous treatments of the subject which were based exclusively on Japanese accounts. I conclude the work with essays on such important related maters as Japanese religion and bushido.

I have also tried to be as thorough as possible over the selection of illustrative material. There is no colour, but this has enabled me to use many more black, and white pictures. Much of the new material for this book was obtained during my study tour to Japan and Korea in 1997. I wish to thank the many individuals and organisations who assisted me in putting the trip together, particularly my son Alex, who accompanied me on the papanese Ego of the journey, and was able to see for the first time the strange world in which his father feels so much at home. Above all, I wan to thank my dear wife jo, who packed our nucksacks and sern us off, then put up with the long business of writing.

A monthly update of my latest research and publications may be found on the Internet at:

http://freespace.virgin.net/stephen.turnbull/publications.htm

Stephen Turnbull

# AN OUTLINE OF SAMURAI HISTORY

# The first samurai

Although 'samura' is often used loosely to mean amy japanese warrinr, it is worth membering that the word originally denoted a particular class of lighting man who was a member of a considerable clite. During these times, from about the tenth century AD ornward, the status of samural was rigidly defined and difficult to acquire. The analogy between the samural and the European knight is a useful one, particularly when it is recognised that the samural were supported in war by a made that the samural were supported in war by a

large number of common foot soldiers whose exploits rarely appear in the epic chronicles which are our main sources for the period. Promotion to the samurat class was in fact available, and attained, but the rank of samurat also had significant connotations of kinship. The rank could indeed be conferred, but illustrious pedigrees that went back centuries could not be so easily acquired, in spite of attempts made by using marriage and adoption.

Samurai status implied service, which was rendered to the emperor, a noble or a great warlord. The first recorded military use of men bearing the title of samurai is as guards to the imperial palace in Kyōto in the tenth century AD. The Japanese government found these samurai clans useful for putting down rebels, and rewarded them well. Increasingly, however, the samurai's allegiance shifted from the central government and state army to that of the local land-owner. These men were usually geographically remote from the capital, and faced threats from rival land-owners, aborigines and bandits, Many of these early samural families were of humble origin, but the clans who were to prove successful in attracting allies often boasted an aristocratic lineage, drawn usually from some minor imperial ancestor sent out to the wilds of lapan to seek his fortune. The most important of these displaced aristocrats were those who founded the rival clans of Taira and Minamoto

The convenient arrangement whereby sanuaria aided the central government in return for reward aided the central government in return for reward lasted until the welfth century, when the samuaria themselves realised the military power they possessed. Beginning with the Taira, who achieved dominance at the imperial ocur by marrying daughters to imperial beirs, the samuran began to interfere more and more in Japanese politics. The litest example of violence crupting around a matter of national concern was the Begen Incident of national concern was the Begen Incident of

# WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND NOMENCLATURE

The following weights and measures were used in Japan at the time of the samurai, and appear in historical quotations throughout the text which follows:

Weight		
1 monme	3.75 gm	
1 kanme = 1000 monme	3.75 kg	
Length		
1 shaku	30.3 cm	
1 ken = 6 shaku	1.8 m (see text	
	for variations)	
1 jō = 10 shaku	3.03 m	
1 chō = 60 ken	109 m	
l ri	3927.27 m	
Area		
1 chō	.992 ha.	

	Capacity
l gō	.181
1 shō	1.81
1 kolm	190 1



1156. Samurai from both the Minamoto and Taira were involved, but the division was not entirely along clan lines. The first direct Taira-Minamoto clash was the Heijl Incident of 1160. The Taira were victorious, and began a series of executions that were intended to wipe out the Minamoto rivalry once and for all.

Enough of the Minamoto leadership was lelt, however, to launch the series of conflicts that became known as the Gempei Wars, from the Chinese reading of the names Minamoto (gen) and Laira (hei). Minamoto Yorimasa, helped by the sõhel, or warrior monks from the temples of Kyöto and Nara, suoported one imperial claimant against



the Taira nominee at the battle of UJi in 1180. Once again the Taira were vetcroious, as they were to be when they defeated Minamoto Yoritomo at the battle of Ishibashiyama. The tide began to turn in the person of Minamoto Yoshinaka, who defeated a Taira army at the battle of Kurikara and entered the capital in triumph in 1183. The following year, his cousin, Minamoto Yoshitsune, one of the most celebrated figures in Japanese history, won a series of brilliant victories against the Taira at lethinotani, Yashima and Dan no Ura, the last being a sea battle where the water ran red with the blood of the slain and the deve from the Flazic's red flass.

The Taira had ruled from Kyōto, making their own family the dornmant line of government, but the victorious Minamoto needed no political chicaneys. It was military force that had put them in a position of power, so it was by military force that they would rule. The emperor was condended to the status of a shadowy living god. Real power law with the possessoor of the tutle of shogun which

Left: Minamoto Yoritomo, the first shogun, is shown here in his effigy at Nikko. He is depicted wearing court dress typical of the Heian Period. He wears a stiff eboshi (court cap) and has a quiver of arrows slung behind him.

Right: The dominant events of the fourteenth century in Japan were the Nanhokuchō Wars fought between two rival dynasties of emperors. Although the conflict officially finished in 1392 the southern line continued to proclaim its legitimacy. This peaceful temple, the Ryūsenii in Kotochi, which was the southern headquarters deep within the wooded mountains of Nara Prefecture, saw the final act to the rivalry when the last of the line of southern emperors. Prince Kitavama, was murdered here in 1457. Local warriors pursued the assailants and managed to recover the prince's head because it had been buried in the snow and blood had seened out. Prince Kitavama is buried just to the left of the main temple. buildina.

the Minamoto leader Yoritomo was granted by the poweriess enperor. 'Shogun' means 'commanderin-chief for the suppression of barbarians'. Minamoto Yoritomo chose to base himself at Kamakura, in the heart of the Kantô plain, near to the site of modern Tokyo. It was far from Kyoto and remote from an traditional court influence.

Even the mighty Minamoto, however, were not to last forever, and they were in turn supplanted by the H0j0 family, who presided over several decades of comparative peace until Japan was subjected to two invasion attempts by Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor of China. Both landings, in 1274 and 1281, were driven back by the brave and determined samural in one of the most light of the seven decades in Japanese history. The second invasion was delivered the coup de gráce by a typhonou, which was dubbed the kami-kaze, the 'wound of the node.'

Following the Mongol invasions, the Höjö power declined, and they were unable to withstand an attempt at imperial restoration led in the name of Emperor Go-Daigo. Kusunoki Masashige, the epitome of loyalty, led a spirited guerrilla war from the mountain fortresses of Akasaka and



Chihaya. The Hōjō capital, Kamakura, fell in 1333, but instead of ensuring an imperial restoration, Japan found that it had merely exchanged one shogunate for another. The Nanbokuchō Wars

The Wars Between the Courts' – thus began between two rival emperors, with the Kusunoki supporting the rightful emperor, and the Ashikaga Shoguns acting in the name of their nominae. Kusunoki Masashige was killed at the battle of Minatogawa in 1336, and although the war dragged on for decades, the Ashikaga were eventually the victors.

In 1333, the old imperial capital became the capital of the shoguns when the founder of the new Ashikaga dynasty moved his seat of government back to Kyöto; and as the fifteenth century began, the Ashikaga were at the height of their powers. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) built a pavilion coated with gold, and entertained princes and ambassadors. His successors seemed destined to raise the dynasty to even greater heights. Then one by one, the blows came, In 1441, the sixth Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshinori, was murdered. He was followed by an eight-year-old son, who died two years later, to be succeeded by his younger brother Yoshimasa, Yoshimasa reigned as shogun for 30 years, and witnessed the gradual seeping away of all shogunal authority. Power passed into the hands of other samura; families, who still retained a nostalgia for an ordered world controlled from the centre. So they clung to Kyōto, to their mansions and their gardens, until their own authority in the provinces began to slip away.

# The Sengoku Period

In 1467, in an act of reckless disregard for political reality, the old samurai families gathered in Kyōto to fight a war. The Onin War, which had Kyoto as its first battlefield, dragged on for ten years, during which the fighting spread to the provinces and the old established families fought one another to extinction. Others rushed to fill the gaps caused by their departure, men who knew nothing of the shogun's commissions and poetry parties in Kyōto. These samurai leaders might be peasant farmers, oil sellers or blacksmiths - men who realised that only military force was now needed. They would assemble a handful of like-minded souls who were good fighters, and build a secure stockade on a hill from where they could defend their rice fields. No tax collector would be coming from Kvôto. No message would arrive from the shogun requesting them to chastise rebels on his behalf. Now was the time for a samurai leader literally to make a reputation for himself, adopting the title of daimyo - 'big name' and build his own kingdom.

In many cases, daimyo were created by usurpation. Some existing lords were murdered by their subjects. Brothers, fathers even, were deposed. Daughters were traded like horses to secure marriage alliances, as the territories grew from one

hill-top fortress to two, then three, surrounding a fertile valley. Some old families did survive and became daimyo themselves, but they tended to be remote from Kvôto.

Japan was therefore gradually splitting into what were effectively a number of petty kingdoms held by warlords who controlled private armies. It is no wonder that the period from 1467 to 1615 is

# THE THREE RIVALS: HŌIŌ UIIYASU, TAKEDA SHINGEN AND UESTIGI KENSHIN

The history of the various conflicts and alliances between Höjö Ujivasu, Takeda Shingen and Uesugi provides a picture of daimyō power in microcosm. The first Hōjō, Hōjō Sōun, died in Nirayama at the age of 87, a man sprung from nowhere who had gone on to become daimyo of two provinces. He had in fact retired from the position of daimyo the previous year to allow his son Illitsuna (1487-1541) the second Hold daimyo, to begin his rule while he still had his father to help him. The succession of a series of eldest sons was one of the Höjö dynasty's great strengths, which stands in marked contrast to the unhappy experience of its rivals. The vital factor in the continuity of the operation was the loyalty of the family retainers. Soon after his father's death. Uiitsuna founded the temple of Soun-ii in Soun's memory, which impressed the old retainers considerably, and they showed their faith in Soun's heir by fighting valiantly for him when he expanded the Hojo domain further into the Kantô by defeating the Uesugi at their castle of Edo in 1524. This village at the mouth of the Sumida river, which is now the city of Tokyo, was the key to Musashi province. Ujitsuna sealed his victory by defeating the combined forces of Satomi Yoshitaka and Ashikaga Yoshiaki at the battle of Könodai in 1538.

Like his father before him. Utitsuna groomed his son Ujiyasu (1515~70) for his eventual succession, Also, like Soun, Uiitsuna left behind a set of house laws to guide future generations. In one section he warns:

"After winning a great victory, a haughty heart, disdain for the enemy, and incautious actions often follow. Avoid this, There have been

labelled the Sengoku Period - the 'Age of the Country at War'. Apart from the Gempei Wars, when much of samurai tradition was established, the Sengoku Period marks the most important time in samurai history. During this century samurai warfare developed to its peak; and from it a peaceful and united Japan was eventually to emerge.

many families in the past destroyed in this manner."

Uittsuna died in 1541, Hōjō Utivasu continued the conquests of his predecessors until the Hojo controlled most of the Kanto region. To defend the Kanto from the north, Utitsuna had established a series of forts along the Sumidagawa, and in defending one of these, Kawagoe, Ujiyasu won his most celebrated victory in 1545. The battle of Kawagoe has a special place in samurai history in that it was fought at night, which alone pays tribute to Ujiyasu's skills in handling troops. In 1564 Ujiyasu again demonstrated his talents as a general in a remarkable 're-run' of his father's hattle at Konodai in 1538. In the second battle of Kônodai, Hôjô Ujiyasu, son of the former victor, defeated Satomi Yoshihiro, son of the daimyo formerly vanguished.

At this point a new dimension entered into the Hōjō's plans. The smaller daimyō of the Kanto had been squeezed into extinction, or had submitted as vassals of the Höiö. Ujivasu now had to face the threat from other successful families whose own territories hordered the Kanto and who had built their own multi-provincial domains in much the same way as the Hōjō. The history of the next two decades became one of a series of fights, alliances and treaties between the three power-blocs of Höjö Ujiyasu, Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin.

Unlike the ordered succession within the Hojo family. Takeda Shingen, who was then called Harunobu, revolted against his father Nobutora when he heard of the latter's plans to disinherit him. In 1540 Harunobu took total control of Kai. and it was from then onward that the newly expansionist Takeda began to increase their influence into neighbouring territories. There were several conflicts with the Hoio, but their Although the traditions of the samura, passed down from the time of the Genes Wars, laid great down from the time of the Genes Wars, laid great emphasis on the provess of the samura as an individual warning the time of the time on onward the samura leaders needed endless onward the samura leaders needed endless upplies of flighting mer; and for a landful warning the peasant who was handly with a sword and dissassing the warning the word of the times the times the times the times the samura that the times the ti

offered a sellers' market, it is from this time that we begin to encounter the expression 'ashligatu' to solder on the control of the solder o

most important sorties were to the north, where Takeda Shingen fought Uesugi Kenshin five times at Kawanakajima.

In 1547 Shingen inwaded Shinano. Some datimy, such as the Sanada, submitted to the Takeda and became vassals. Others resisted them to the last. The most important among the latter group was Murakami Yoshikiyo (1501-73), who defeated Shingen in a bitter battle at Uedahara in 1548. He had fought against Shingen's father, but realised that he could not stand alone forever against the new power of Shingen himself; so he requested help from his powerful neighbour to the north, Uesugi Kenshin. The resulting alliance between Murakami Yoshikiyo and Uesugi Kenshin thus brought these two powerful clans into direct opposition.

In contrast to the long pedigree of the Takeda and the family cohesion of the Hôjō, Uesugi Kenshin's social position, and indeed his name, owed everything to clever opportunism. There was indeed an ancient family of Uesugi who were descended from the Fujiwara. But the most illustrious samurai to bear the name, Uesugi Terutora (like Shingen, 'Kenshin' was a Buddhist name adopted later in adult life), had no hereditary connection with the Uesugi line. His original name was Nagao Kagetora. The family of Nagao were retainers of the Yamanouchi branch of the Uesugi, and of some military reputation. But in 1545 the Uesugi were defeated by the Höiö. Uesugi Norimasa (1522-79) went from bad to worse in his campaigns until in 1551, defeated once again by Hôiô Uiivasu, he was forced to seek refuge with his vassal Nagao Kagetora.

Kagetora had grown rich in the service of the Uesugi, and had become de facto ruler of Echigo province, protected from the belligerent Höjö and Takeda by the 'Japan Alps'. When Uesugi came to him on bended knee, he accepted his cristwhile overlord on his own, very strict terms. Norimasa was to adopt him as his heir, give him the name of Uesugi and the titles of Echigo-no-kami Idro of Echigo and Kamio Kanet (shogun's deputy for the Kanto area). Norimasa agreed to all these demands, and Nagao Kageton became Uesugi Terutora. He took the name of Kenshin in the following year; John John Haman John Haman John Haman John Haman John John Haman John Jo

The next quarter-century saw a bewildering succession of allances and battles between the three rivals. In 1500 Kenshin attacked Közuke province and assaulted a castle defended by allies of the Höjö. The Uesugi attacked the Höjö's base of Odawaru in 1561. Also in 1561 Kenshin saved his ally Ola Sukemasa, whose castle of Matsuyama was under attack from an alliance of Matsuyama was under attack from an alliance of 1590 Takeds. Shingen attacked Odawara castle and Univasu resucted help from Kenshin!

The respect which Kenshin and Shingen had for each other is shown in the 'sali incident'. Takeda Shingen, being landlocked, depended upon the goodwill of the Höjö for his provision of salt. When the Höjö once cut the supply off, Kenshin sent him some from his own seacoast, saying, 'I do not fight with salt, but with the sword.'

Höjö Ujiyasu passed on an ordered domain to his son Ujimasa, but both his rivals suffered violent deaths, if the legend about Uesugi. Kenshin dying at the hands of a ninja is to be believed. Shingen certainly fell to a shot from a sniper at Noda castle in 1573. Kenshin's death was followed by a destructive succession dispute, and Shingen was succeeded by his less talented son Katsuvord, defeated at Nagashhin in 1575. smaller war bands became absorbed into larger factions under successful dainino, many of whom boasted long military traditions. As time passed, the more astute daimy o came to several realisations concerning the ashigaru in their service. While some continued to accept into their armies a loose and uncertain rabble, others dressed them in uniform armour, gave them promotion and tried to keep them in their service.

The names of these successful dainy6, and indeed mans unsuccessful ones, are recorded elsewhere in this work. The Uesugi, from the Japan Sea constal area. Output the Takeds of the central high lands. The Höja rose from nowhere to dominate the Kanto Jahan, as the Date did in the Far north. In the southern Japaneses island of Kyūshū, the Sengku Perroda Saw constant confirct between the families of Shimazu. Gromo, Ito, Arama and Ryūzōji, Around the Inland Sea the Mori rose to power when the Ouchi were overthrown by, one of their rown, vassely.

Many daimyō dreamed of uniting Japan under their own swords. The first to take on the mantle of unifier was Oda Nobunaga, whose brilliant victory at Okehazama in 1560 established him as a consummate samurai general. Nobunaga benefited from his encouragement of European trade, which enabled him to acquire the newly introduced Portuguese arquebuses. These weapons first appeared in 1543, and many daimyo used them. Few, however, properly appreciated that the successful employment of firearms depended only partly on technical skills concerned with accuracy of fire and speed of loading, Just as was the case in contemporary Europe, a skilled archer could launch many more arrows, and with considerably more accuracy, in the time it took to fire a succession of arquebus balls. But to use a bow properly required an élite archer coros. The arquebus could be mastered in a comparatively short space of time, making it the ideal weapon for the lowerranking ashigaru.

The secret to the successful use of firearms, therefore, depended on army organisation and a profound change in social attitudes. First came the need to recognise that the ashigaru were anything other than a casually recruited rabble. It took a further leap of the imagination to give them pride of place in a samuraa army, because the vanguard

of an army had traditionally consisted of the most experienced and trusted swordsmen and mounted samurai. Yet for firearms to be truly effective, the ashigaru had to be placed in the front ranks in large numbers.

It was Nobunaga who showed how guns could best be employed with his dramatic victory at Nagashino in 1575, when his controlled volley firing broke the Takeda cavalry charge Yet seven years later Nobunaga was murdered in a night raid when even his arquebuses could not save him. Tovotomi Hidevoshi, who was one of his most loval followers, avenged his death and took control. He defeated his rivals in a rapid and brilhant series of campaigns from Yamazaki in 1582 to Shizugatake in 1583. Hideyoshi also followed Nobunaga's example of building huge strategic castles, and with these as a base conquered Shikoku island in 1585 and Kyūshū in 1587. The Hojo submitted to him in 1590, followed shortly by the northern clans, making Hidevoshi, the 'Napoleon of Japan', ruler of the whole nation.

Samurai armies were now virtually professional soldiers. Within each army fought high-ranking



Right: This bronce statuse of Tokugawa leyasu is at Okaraki. Ieyasu refounded the shagunate and set his family in a position of power which they maintained for two and a half centuries. He is depicted here wearing a nanban do style armour beneath angs from his bett and he carries a war fan in his right hand.

Opposite page: Katō Kivomasa was one of the most celebrated samurai of the Sengoku Period. He is shown here in a woodblock print depicting his contribution to the battle of Shizuaatake in 1583. The print is an excellent illustration of a mounted samurai spearman in action, as he wields his weapon to the side of his horse rather than couching it like a European lance In the backaround his followers display the severed heads of his victims on branches of green bamboo, Kivomasa is shown wearing a sashimono bearing the motto 'Namu Myōho Renge Kyō' of the Nichiren sect of Ruddhism. His helmet has a built-up crown in the style of a courtier's cap.





The classe image of the samurat warrior is well illustrated in this woodblock print. A samurai identified as a retainer of the Satomi family has been attacked by three assallants, one of whom has a spear. The samurai has drawn his statana and is wielding in one-handed while his shorter wakktashi stays thrust through his belt. He was ready for action before the datack started, because his jacket sleeves are already tied back using his travuli (ash).

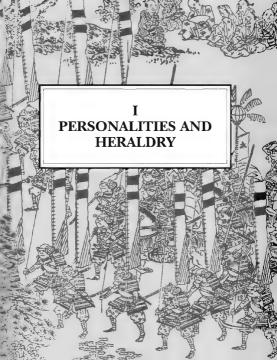
mounted samural spearmen who, according to their means, also supplied a handful of personal retainers. Other samural retainers fought on foot with spears, supported by ashiganu. Specialised corps of highly trained ashiganu wielded bows, spears or arquebuses, and all were under the command of officers. A sizeable support unit was included in each army, of which flag bearers were the most important, possessing their own guard There would also be a large headquarters unit which included the lord's bodyguard.

# The triumph of the Tokugawa

Hidevoshi finally outreached himself with the ill-fated invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1597, and died in 1598, leaving an infant son, Hidevori, to inherit. Immediately lapan split once again into rival camps. The conflict was settled in dramatic style with the huge battle of Sekigahara in 1600, as a result of which Tokugawa Jevasu was proclaimed shown in 1603, a title his descendants were to retain for two and a half centuries. The most serious rival to the Tokugawa, Toyotomi Hideyori, was vanguished after the long and bitter siege of Osaka castle in 1615. In 1638 a mainly Christian rebellion occurred in Shimabara in Kyūshū. It was only put down after a long and unexpectedly difficult struggle, but was to prove the only real challenge to Tokugawa supremacy.

Following the Shimabara rebellion, the shogunane, fearful of outside influence, particularly spain and Fortugal, restricted trade and effectively severed all relations with Catholic Europe. Samural now comprised the standing army of the shogunate, but had no enemies to fight. Over the next century their power declined in comparison with polled out of their complacency by the appearance of European and American ships in Japanese waters in the first half of the intercent neutrus.

The Tokugawa shoguns aimed to develop trade, whereas clans such as the Shimazu of distant Satsuma wished to repel all attempts at intercourse with the foreigner. A civil war ensued, during which the Tokugawa shogunate was overthrown and the emperor restored to a position his line had not enjoyed for centuries. But instead of repelling the barbarians, the founding fathers of modern Japan realised that they had to cooperate with the foreigners if the nation was to survive. Old practices, such as the existence of a privileged samurai class, were abolished. One samurai in particular, Saigo Takamori, found this too much to bear, and in 1877 led the Satsuma rebellion against the national army of conscripts. This brave but anachronistic attempt ended in failure. Saigo was defeated and committed suicide, making him to all intents and purposes the last of the samurai.



# PERSONALITIES AND HERALDRY

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# SAMURAL HERALDRY

Throughout Japanese history samural armes used increasingly complex means of hattlefield identification. Although there are differences from similar systems in use in contemporary Europe, the prinreples of recognition through design and an accepted hereditary basis of transference make the term 'heraldry' an appropriate one to use.

Early Japanese heraldry would appear to be based upon the use of differently coloured flags to indicate family allegiance. The type of flag used at this time was not the stiffened hanner (nohori) of later years, but a flag called a hata-itrushi - a streamer attached by a short horizontal cross-piece to a shaft. The other means of identification were the mon (family crests), which were stencilled on to banners and maku (field curtains), and painted on to the front of the large wooden shields used to provide defence lines on a battlefield. However. pictorial sources for this early use of mon have to he examined with care, because many are of a later. date than the events they represent, Illustrations of the campaigns of Minamoto Yoshiie from 1086-9 in the Gosannen Kassen Emaki show the use of stencilled designs on the maku. The design is of geese, presumably an allusion to the incident whereby Yoshiie was warned of an enemy ambush by birds flying from a location. This association

leads one to question its authenticity. Little is known for certain regarding the heraldry adopted by the Taira and the Minamoto during the Gempei Wars of 1180-5 except for the Taira use of red flags and the Minamoto use of white flags. Use of these flags is well established. and there are several references to the two colours in the Heike Monogatari, Later illustrations of the Gempei Wars frequently show the Minamoto using on the white banner a mon of a floral design; three flowers of rindo (gentian) above five leaves of sasa (bamboo). The Taira are attributed the use of various designs of a butterfly. Unfortunately there are no textual references that give descriptions of such insignia during the Gempei Wars. An actual banner from the Gemnei Wars is preserved in the museum of the shrine built on the site of the battle of Yashima. The flag is a white banner that was used by the Minamoto at the battle. It is plain and bears no design

A careful reading of the Heike Monogatari text, however, confirms the use on certain occasions of more than just plain flags. The second battle of Uji in 1184 was fooght across the Ujigawa between Minamoto Yoshinaka and his cousin Minamoto Yoshinaka and bis does had previously used white banners when fighting their separate campaigns against the Tairs. How were they now to be distinguished? In the account of the battle, a certain man sees an army coming towards him.

certain man sees an army coming towards him:
"Yoshisums himself, leaving the conduct of the
battle to his subordinates, rode off with five or six
retainers to the Palace of the Hoo in Rokujo, to
guard it against any further perils. Here Daixen no
Tayio Naritada had mounted up to the eastern wall
and was surveying the turmoil outside, his whole
body shaking in the extremity of his terror, when
he saw the small band approaching with their
hemtes hanging loose from the fight, their
bow-hand sieeves flying loose in the wind, and the
white colours of the Cenji displayed. "Alas, how
terrable" he shrieked. "It is Kiso who has come
againt"

Very soon the terrified man is reassured, and: "the voice of Naritada was heard again. 'It may

the voice of Nantada was heard again, 'It may be the warriors of the East who are just entering the town, for the insignia they wear is different.'"

The insignia could well have been the Minamoto mon. That some form of family crests were used is also indicated in a later passage in Heike Monogatari concerning Yoshinaka's attack on the Hoùlijden.

"According to Yoshinaka's usual strategy they were divided into seven companies... As a sign of recognition they all wore a badge of pine leaves."

This account further implies that Kiso Voshinaka chose a different mon from his cousin Yoshitsune (of the main line of the family) to be distinguishable on the battlefield. A further example of a mon being added to the white banner is the occasion of the death of a member of the Kodama family, allies of the Minamoto, distinguished by having a black fan design on the flag.

As well as mon and other figurative designs, many illustrations also show white banners with black bands of different sizes at the top. It was quite common in later history for flags to be differentiated in such a way to indicate various divisions of an army, so this, too, may well have been found during the Gempei Wars. The size of divisional organisations is difficult to estimate. According to the Heise Monagaran, Kiso Yoshnaka regularly split his army up into seven units, each varying in number according to the men available. The number of banners must have given some indication of the number of men, because the carrying of extra banners was used by Yoshnaka rat the battle of Kurikara to trink the Tatra into thinking that there were more troops present than there accutally were.

The most detailed description of a flag in the Heike Monogatari is for neither Taira nor Minamoto but for a contingent of warriors from the Kumano shrine who fought at Dan no Ura. Their white flag bore a representation of Kongodóji, the guardian of the three shrines of Kumano.

Contemporary illustrations of the use of the large wooden shelds on battlefields often show black bands painted on them, and also mon. The accompanying picture is of a sixteenth-century battle by a monk army and shows examples of

FAMILY NAME	

		-					
Abe Akashi Akechi Akita Akiyama Akizuki Amakazu Amako Amakusa Amari Anayama Andô Ankokuji Aoyama	阿明明秋秋秋廿尼天廿穴安安青青岩部石智田山月糟子草利山藤国木山太寺	Arima Asai Asakura Asano Ashikaga Ashina Aso Ayukawa Baba Ban Bessho Chōsokabe Daidōji Date Doi	有淺朝淺足薄阿鲇馬塊別長大伊土油馬井全野利名蘇川場 所曾道達井華馬井全野利名蘇川場 残寺	Fukushima Furuta Fuwa Gamō Gotō Hachisuka Hajikano Hara Hasegawa Hasekura Hasekura Hatakeyama Hatano Hatrori Hayashi	福古不蒲後蜂初原長支羽島波服林+島田和生藤須鹿 谷食柴山多部 大島田和生藤須鹿 谷食柴山多部 大	Hineno Hiraga Hirarwa Hisamatsu Hitotsuyanagi Hūjo Honda Honjo Hori Hori Horio Hosokawa Hotta Ichibasshi Ichibu	日平平久一北本本堀堀保細堀一一一根賀岩松柳条多条 尾科川田橋部各野
Araki	荒木	Endő	遠藤	Hijikata	土方	Ichiiō	一条
Autom		Litto		Tiljikata		icinjo	
li Iida Ijŭin Ikeda Ikoma	伊井 飯田 伊集院 池田 生動	Itakura Itamı Itö Iwakı Kakizaki	板伊伊東城 崎	Kinoshita Kitabatake Kobayakawa Kobori Koide	太 北 小 県 小 県 小 北 小 北 北 り に り い り い り い り い り い り い り い り い り い	Kuwayama Kyogoku Maeba Maeda Makara	桑京前前真
Imagawa	숙매	Kamei	2#	Konishi	小西	Makino	牧野
Imaizumi Ina Inaba Inagaki Inoue Iriki-in Irobe Ishida Ishikawa Itagaki	今伊稲稲井入色石石板泉奈葉垣上来部田川垣院	Kamiizumi Kamiya Kanamori Katagiri Katakura Kató Kawajiri Keyamura Kjikuwa Kimura	上神金片片加川毛吉木泉谷森桐倉藤风谷川村	Köno Koriki Kösaka Koteda Kuchiki Kuki Kumazawa Kuroda Kurosaka Kurushima	河高高篭朽九熊黑巢来野力坂手木鬼澤田坂島田	Masuda Matsudaira Matsukura Matsumae Matsumoto Matsunaga Matsuno Matsushita Matsuura Matsuura Matsuura	增松松松松松松松松松松毛田平倉前本永野下浦受

2

mon, black bands, and the use of prayer inscriptions written in bonji (sanskrit characters).

During the following century the adoption of or mon becomes more systematised. In the Inkisi mono becomes more systematised. In the Inkisi make the matter than the transfer that the Inkisi make the matter than the Inkisi make the matter than the Inkisi make the Inkisi m

Moving forward to the fourteenth century and the Nanbaukoth Wars, the Kussnoki farmly, who supported emperor Go Daigo in his rebellion against the High Gregors, used the device of an imperial chrysanthemum flooting on the water. The use of the chry santhemum kind an imperial proposition of the major and it was the Kusunoki family's outstanding loyally that allowed them to adopt a variation of it. Their enemies the High are distinguished by their use of the mon of three fish.

Minagawa Miura Miyabe Miyoshi Mizoguchi Mizuno Mizunoya Mogami Mori Mori Morozumi Mukai Munakata Murakami Nabeshima	管三宫三溝水水最森 毛鳍向楝村鍋永川浦部好口野谷上 利泉并方上島井	Nagao Nagatsuka Najitó Nakagawa Nakajó Nakamura Nahou Naoc Naruse Nasu Natsume Nishina Nishio Niwa Obata	長長内中中中中南直成那夏仁西丹小尾塚藤川条村山部江瀬須目科尾羽幡	Obu Ochiai Oda Odai Ogasawara Okabe Ökubo Okudaira Omura Onoki Ota Otani Ötani Ötomo Ouchi Oyamada	飯落繼小小岡大奥大大小太大大大小高合田田笠部久平村野野田谷友内山井原 保 本田	Rokkaku Rokugō Ryūmonji Ryūzoji Sagara Saigō Saugusa Saitō Sakakibara Sakakibara Sakaurai Sanada Sasa Satake Satake	六六龍龍相西三斉坂榊佐桜真佐佐里角郷門造良郷枝藤井原久井田々竹見 子寺
Sengoku Shiba Shibata Shidara Shimazu Shimizu Shimonojō Shimura Shimura Shomi Sō Suda Sue	仙斯柴設島島清下志新小宗須陶香石波田楽 津水条村条式 田 羽	Suibara Susukida Suwa Suzuki Tachibana Takanashi Takanashi Takanashi Takeda Takemata Takenaka Fakenokoshi Takigawa Tanaka	水薄颜鈴立高高高武竹竹竹淹田寺原田訪木花橋梨山田侯中腰川中沢	Tödö Togawa Tokugawa Tomita Toyotomi Toyawa Tsuchiya Tsugaru Tsutsui Uesugi Ukita Uozumi Usami	藤戸徳富島豊戸土津筒上宇魚宇宇堂川川田居臣澤屋軽井杉喜住佐都多 美宮	Watanabe Yagyū Yamagata Yamamoto Yamana Yamauchi Yamayoshi Yamazaki Yasuda Yokota The ancient Kusunoki	楠
Suganuma Sugihara	香沼 杉原	Terazawa Foda	奈沢 戸田	Utsunomiya Wakızaka	于都宫 脇坂	Minamoto Taira	源平

Mon and other heraldic

desians: 1. The rindo mon attributed to the Minamoto family, 2, The butterfly mon attributed to the Taira and later used by the Ikeda. 3. The imperial chrysanthemum floating on the water used by the areat loyalist Kusunoki Masashiae, 4, A detail from Fhon Taikôki showing a monk army's use of wonden shields with mon and bonii (Sanskrit characters) nainted on. 5. The kirl mon (paulownia) associated with the Ashikaga family, and later used by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. 6. The bizarre flag of Matsuno Hirochika, who killed a young enemy in 1615, and had the flag painted as earnest of his attempts to pray for the soul of his victim. The man's severed head is shown. 7. The hata jirushi standard of Ashikaga Yoshiaki, 8. The sashimono flaa of Hachisuka Jemasa, bearina a swastika, a very ancient Buddhist symbol. 9. The flag of the Jodo sect of Buddhism used by Tokuaawa levasu. It bears the slogan. Renounce this filthy world and attain the Pure Land'. 10. The mon of an (hollyhock) leaves in a circle, used by the Tokugawa family, 11, Akechi Mitsuhide is shown here accompanied by foot soldiers, one of whom is carrying his standard, which is a large stiffened flaa bearing the kikyô mon. This design also appears on the back of Mitsuhide's surcoat, 12. The triple tomoe design, used by several fami-

hes including Kobayakawa,

scales, the device later to be associated with the Höjö of Odawara.

The Ashikaga family, who were the victors in the Nanbokuchö Wars, are the first family in Japanese history to be associated with the mon of the kiri (paulownia). It was originally an imperial crest, conferred by the emperor on the Ashikaga shogun, who in turn conferred it on warriors of merit. The flag used by Ashikaga Shiqueji (1434-97) the first Koga-kubo, shows a kiri mon beneath a red rising sun on white.

The use of such mon becomes well established by the Sengoku Period. The Tokugawa family used the aci (hollyhock) in an attractive design of three hollyhock leaves pointing inwards within a circle. Toyotom Hideyoshi used the kiri mon, while several families used variations on the ancient device of the tomore (comman-shape) associated with yn and yang. The triple tomore, for example, formed the mon of Kobayakawa Takakage (1532-96). Such mon appeared on the clothes of guards at the daimyō's residences and on hanging curatins, but their use on the battlefeld was by no means so straightforward. A popular use was on the sails of the daimyō's since.

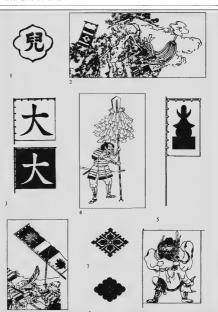
Mon were certainly used on the sashimono flags worn on the back of the armour by samurai and ashigaru, with various field colours indicating separate military units. However, many other devices were used, and it is well recorded (for example in the II material included elsewhere) that certain samurai had their names emblazoned on their sashimono rather than a mon. Mon would also appear on the larger flags described below. Some mon designs were used by more than one family, and in the majority of cases the depiction of mon as a white design on black or a black design on white is purely an artistic convention, the design being more important than the colour. When displayed on flags, the practice would appear to be to display white mon on any colour except white, where a black mon is used.

To understand the display of mon on the battlefield it is necessary to appreciate the range of flags which were available to carry them. The hata-jirush: streamer was still used, as shown in the accompanying illustration of the flag of Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-97), the fifteenth and last Ashikaga shogun.

The flag is referred to as the Ashikaga uma iirushi, which literally means 'horse insignia', and was the device personally associated with the individual daimyō. I have translated this by the familiar Furonean expression 'standard' In most cases two are identified: the ō-uma iirushi, or great standard, and the ko uma jirushi, or lesser standard. Daimyo in the lower income bracket tended to have just one, an arrangement that was formalised in the 1645 schedules of the Tokugawa shogunate, with daimyo above 1,300 koku having a ko uma jirushi, and those above 6,000 koku having an ō uma iirushi as well. Some standards are these long hata jirushi flags attached to the shaft only by a cross-pole at the top. Others are large rectangular flags with a bold design. A striking example is Matsuno Hirochika, a retainer of the Date family. His unusual banner bore the design of the severed head of a young warrior. It was drawn in black ink on white cloth to represent the pale face of death, with blood dripping from the neck. It was said to have been derived from an actual incident in 1615 when Matsuno decapitated a young enemy in battle. The head was interred, and as an earnest of his intentions to pray for the entry of the dead man into paradise, Matsuno had the flag made. Akechi Mitsuhide (1526-82), once the loval

ARECHI MISSINIOE (17-26-22), Once the loyal general of Oda Nobunga, and later his murderer, used as his mon the kikyō, a five-petalled flower. In the accompanying section from Ehon Taikok it appears on his flag and also on the back of his own imbaori (surcost). Mogam Voshiaki (15-6-1614) had a simple geometric mon, but used on his standard the desien of a sotoha. Buddhist device dark the desien of a sotoha. Buddhist device.

streams of the stream of the s



by rescuing his master's standard from the midst of an enemy army. A smaller gobei also appears on Katsuile's sashimono, along with his mon of a bird design.

As well as the uma jirushi, the Japanese battlefield displayed many nobori, which I translate as 'banner'. The banner was essentially the flag of the clan, and many would appear on the battlefield. identifying separate units of the clan army. They appear as long vertical flags, fastened through loops to a pole, and kept rigid by a cross-piece at the top, a popular form of flag found often in Japan today. In many cases the overall design of a nobori is simply that of a long flag with the mon stencilled near the top. Two nobori appeared on the heraldry of Kato Kiyomasa when he was fighting in Korea. One hore his mon of a circle under a three-dimensional device, the other was black and white, bearing the motto of the Nichiren sect, 'Namu Myōho Renge Kyō'.

Even more numerous than the banners were the sashimon. This was an identifying device, usually a flag, that was worn on the back of armour by individual samural from about 1530 onwards. The sashimone was flown from a short pole, and secured by two cords that passed under the samural's armpits to the on to two rings on the front of the armour. The sashimone is often a contract of the samural sampits to the onto the samural's armpits to the on two rings on the front of the armour. The sashimone is often as one that the samural sam

Opposite Page: Mon and other heraldic designs:
1. The mon of Ukita Naoie. 2. A detail from Bhon
Taikbik showing the use made by Ukita Naoie of
his mon on bourner and standard. 3. The two standards of Takeda Katsuyori. 4. The golden gohe's
stundard of Shibato Katsus, carried by his standard bearer the hero Menju letora. 5. The stodba
design on the banner of Moyami Yoshidi. 6. The
banner of Saua Narimusas. 7. The mon of Outh
Harukata who suppliented him. 8. The waration
on the Takeda mon used by Takeda Katsuyori.
9. Shok the auther of demons appeared on the
standards of Honda Tudakatsu and Maeeda
Takhilie.

the mon lacquered on to the front (and sometimes the back) of the armour.

Finally, there are the identifying devices worn by the stusk-ban, the messengers of the army. These key, élite individual samural, who are the equivalent of a dieds-de-camp, often wore the balloon-like basket work horo, topped by a flag, making them instantly identifiable to friend and foe alike. Their battlefield heraldry, was usually quite spectacular. The other heraldic devices noted on some illustrations is the lord's helmet, which would be carried on a pole-arm until he was ready to wear it. It thus functioned as a heraldic device.

An example of all these devices may be found in the illustration of two members of the Hachstuska family. Hachisuka lemasa (1558-1638) wears a personal assistimon of white with a black swassilka, a very ancient Buddhist symbol. His son Yoshisukge's (1581-1615) heraldry encompasses an 0 uma jirushi consisting of two very Jarge balls of feathers on a basket-work frame, a nobori in black and white using the swastilka mo, no sonal black dags as the sestimone for the sensural, and black thag as the sestimone for the sensural, and black thag as the sestimone for the sensural and some sensural sensura sensural sens

systematised, and several books were published laying out in minute detail the precise design, colour and number of a daimyo's display, which would only have been seen on his progress to and from Edo, the remnant of a war-like tradition.

Several mon and other heraldic designs are illustrated in this chapter and elsewhere in this work, and may be located using the index.

A major source of heraldic information is a book entitled O Mma Jinzshi (Honouzable horse banners), the work of a monk known only as Kyūan, who completed the project in 1650. O Uma Jinzshi is a comprehensive illustrated survey of the heraldry of all the surviving samurai families at that time. Most of the named individuals fought in the last battles of the great civil wars. Others are the sons or grandsons of men who served, whose appearance on the battlefield may thus be envisaged. Extant specimens of arms, armour and flags preserved in museums and painted sources enable sources enable sources enable sources enable sources enable sources enable.



Apart from the well known use of mon (badges) on the sashimono flags of samurai it was quite common for notable samurai to have their names embilazoned on their flags instead. The If family records quoted elsewhere in this work note this as on option for their retainers. (Detail from the Fhon Towotomi Kurkóku)

the material in 0 Uma Irushi to be checked for accuracy, which, allowing for a certain article licence in depicting three-dimensional objects, is very high. It is thus an invaluable and unique quie to the samurai on the battlefields of the lare susteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and contains a vast amount of data unavailable elsewhere.

Considerations of space make it impossible to include the detailed illustrations in 0 Uma Jirushi which accompany its text, but many may be inferred from the accompanying descriptions and pictures of certain key motifs. To avoid duplication have not included illustrations of the flags of families depicted in my other books. These unclude High Takked Twenty-Four Generals, or

the Useugl Twenty-Eight Generals', whose heraldry appears in detail in my book Samuri. The Warrior Tradition. In addition, most of the families who fought at the battle of Anegasian 1570 appear on the painted screen illustrated in Samura Warfare, along with various notable inviduals and a detailed account of the heraldry of the Matsuura

The other man information included in the present chapter are the fiels held by the samurai. These are expressed in koku, which enables one cestimate the number of troops any individual family would be able to put on to the battlefield, as discussed elsewhere in this work. Brief bouraphies and lists of achievements complete this unique compendium.

27

# CATALOGUE OF THE SAMURAL AND THEIR HERALORY 940-1638

# Abe Masakatsu (1541-1600)

Abe Masakatsu (1541–1600)

Abe Masakatsu served Tokugawa Ieyasu, and in
1590 received the fief of Ichihara (Izu – 5000 koku).

# For heraldry see below. Abe Masatsugu (1569–1647)

Son of the above, Masatsugu became a daimyō after Sekigahara.

banner: fourteen stripes of black and red great standard: red disc on black

# Akashi Morishige (+1618)

Akashi Morishige was the vassal of Ukita Hidese, the daimyo of Okayama. Morishige fought for the Western Army at Sekigahara, where he surrendered to Kuroda Nagamasa. He fought for the Toyotomi at Osaka, but escaped at the fall of the castle and died in great powerty. He had here habitised in 1596.

His banner was white with two black flowery crosses.

#### Akechi Mitsubide (1526-82)

Akerhi Misshide began his service to Oda Nobunaga in 1566. In 1571 he received the fiel of Sakamoto (Om. - 100,000 koku). In 1579 he captured the castle of Yakamia by sking the mother of Hatano Hideharu as hostage. Oda Nobunaga, however, had her crucified, whereupon the surviving retainers of the Hatano kilded Misshide's mother. Akerhi Missuhide hit hack at Oda Nobunaga in 1582 when the latter was in Kyōto by leading a coup at the Homoji temple. With Nobunaga deed, Missuhide assumed the reins of government for thirteen days, but was soon defented at the battle of Yamazak.

mon: see separate illustration. standard: a double white flag with slashed edges.

# Akechi (Mitsuharu) Mitsutoshi (+1582)

Akechi Mitsutoshi, also known as Mitsuharu, accompanied his cousis Mitsuhide in his revolt against Nobunaga, but was too late to help at the battle of Vamazaki. He was defeated by Hort Hidemas of Vibide-hama, near Ōtsu, and crossed the narrow neck of Lake Swa on his famous horse Okago to escape, a scene often depicted in Japanese art. Mitsutoshi then performed the unprecedented act of committing hara-kiri and writing a poem on the door with the blood from his abdomen, using a brush.

# - Total Care Stood I folia fab abadoliichi doulg t

Akita Sanesue (+1659)
Akita Sanesue served the Tokugawa, and in 1602
he received the fiel of Shisido (Hitachi - 50,000

# koku).

# Akita Toshisue (dates?)

Son of the above, Toshisue also served the Tokugawa, and in 1645 he received the fief of Miharu (Mutsu - 50,000 koku). great standard: black three-dimensional cone

with feathers

messengers' sashimono: five black flags

# Akiyama Nobutomo (d. 1575)

Nobutomo was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He played a distinguished part in the invasion of Shinano province.

banners: a black flower design on blue

# Akizuki Tanezane (+1588) Having been defeated by the Ōtomo, Akizuki

Tanezane sided with the Shimazu and Joined them against Toyotomi Hideyoshi when he invaded Kyūshū. After peace was restored, he was transferred to the fief of Takanabe (Hyuga - 20,000 koku).

His flags used a stylised character 'aki'.

# Akizuki Tanenaga (+1614)

Tanenaga served in the Korean Invasion under Kuroda Nagamasa. He supported Ishida at the time of Sekigahara, but managed to retain his fief afterwards.

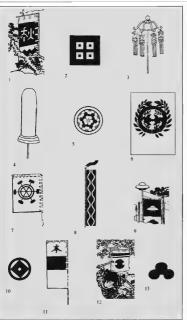
# Amakazu Kagemochi (dates?)

Amakazu Kagemochi was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in support at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561 and guarded the ford of Amenomiya.

His banner was a black band on white.

# Amako Tsunehisa (1458-1541)

The Amako family spent many years in arms against the Möri, but Möri Motonari was originally



Mon and other heraldic designs: 1. The stylized character 'akı' on the banner of Akizuki Tanezane. 2. The mon of the Amako family. The same pattern of squares was used also by the Kyógoku. 3. The lantern standard of Ankokuji Ekei. 4. The standard of Asano Yukinaga as used in Korea. 5. The mon of the Chosokabe family. 6. The lovebirds design of Date Masamune, also used by Uesuai Kenshin. 7. The water wheel design of Doi Toshikatsu. 8. The banner of Fukushima Masanori, 9. The hat motif of Gamó Katahide and his descendants appearing as a standard and on his flags, 10. The mon of Hitotsuvanaai Naomori, 11. The banner with the character 'hon' of Honda Tadamasa and Honda Tadakatsu, 12. Horio Yoshiharu wearing a sashimono with his mon. 13. The mon of Hineno Yashitama, used on his flags.

a retainer of the Amako. In 1518 Amako Tsunehisa made war against Ouchi Yoshloki, but peace was negotiated through the offices of the shogun. In 1521 Möri Motonari besieged Kagamiyama on behalf of the Amako, while Amako Tsunehisa failed in his attempt to take Kanasama.

# Amako Kunihisa (+1554)

Kunihisa was the son of Tsunehisa, and died at the hands of his nephew Haruhisa, with whom he quarrelled.

# Amako Haruhisa (1514-62)

Amako Haruhisa made war against Ouchi Yoshitaka and Mori Motonari, but with so little suscess that many of his retainers passed over into the service of the Ouchi. His biggest failure was his inability to capture Koriyama castle from the Mori. When Sue Harukisa murdered Ouchi Yoshikas retrieved his losses, captured Mimasaka and seventeric acults on Haringare.

# Amako Katsuhisa (+1578)

With Katsuhisa the rivalry between the Móri and the Amako reached its peak. In 1570 he was defeated at Nunobeyama, where his celebrated general Yamandas Shikanosuke distinguished hunself. In 1571 he was defeated by Móri Terumoto and fled to the Island of 10k. On his return be defeated Kouni scale guants the Móri on the Grand of the Committee of

# Amako Yoshihisa (+1610)

The son of Katsubisa, Yoshibisa continued the struggle against the Mori, who besieged him in his castle of Toda. Suspecting his leading retainer, Moriyama Hisakane, of alding the enemy, he had the unfortunate fellow executed, at which most of his other retainers abundoned him. Yoshibisa fled, had his head shaved, and lived in religious obscuriny until 1610.

# Amakusa (Masuda) Shirō (Tokisada) (+1638)

This young samurar is one of the most enigmatic figures in Japanese history. At a comparatively young age he led the insurgents in the Shimabara rebellion, and conducted the defence of the castle of Hara. He was killed when the castle fell.

The heraldry used by the Shimabara rebels was largely that of the Christian cross, although an elaborate banner showing angels adoring the Blessed Sacrament has survived.

# Amari Toravasu (d. 1548)

Amari Torayasu served two generations of the Takeda family as one of the 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He was killed at the battle of Uedahara in 1548

banner: red and white stripes

# Anayama (Baisetsu) Nobukimi (d. 1582)

Anayama Nobukimi was a nephew of Takeda Shingen and became one of his 'Twenty Four Generals'. He fought at Mikata ga Hara and Nagashino, but later made an alliance with Tokugawa leyasu and helped him in his defeat of Takeda Katsuyori. As a reward he obtained a fick Kau province, but was assassinated by one of the old Takeda retailners.

For heraldry, as Anayama was related to the Takeda family, the sashimono worn by mounted and foot samurai bore the Takeda mon on blue. The nobori banner and uma jirushi, which was a large flag, were blue with a different device.

# Ando Shigenobu (1558-1622) Ando Shigenobu served in leyasu's wars and

became a daimyō in 1612, when he received the fief of Takatsuki (Kōzuke).

For flags see Shigenaga.

# Andō Shigenaga (1600-57)

The son of Shigenobu, Shigenaga served Tokugawa Hidetada and Tokugawa Iemitsu.

great standard: red and white striped fukinuki messengers' sashimono: a horo of alternate

bands of red and white sashimono: white disc on red

ashigaru: small red flag

# Ankokuji Ekei (d. 1600) Ankokuji Ekei was originally a Buddhist priest. He

served in Korea, then fought for the Western Army at Sekigahara and was afterwards beheaded. As he had no descendants his heraldry is unknown 20

except for his standard, which was a three-dimensional Chinese lantern in gold, and his mon, four pierced squares in a pattern.

# Aoki Shigekane (dates?)

gohei

Aoki Shigekane served Tokugawa Jeyasu, and was created a daimyo in 1600 when he received the fiel of Asada (Settsu - 10,000 koku)

banner: Mount Fuji in white on black

sashimono: same design standard: white two-dimensional Fuji above a

# Aoyama Tadanari (1551-1613)

Aoyama Tadanari was created a daimyō in 1601.

# Aoyama Yukinari (dates?)

The son of Tadanari, Yukinari became a daimyō in 1615.

# Araki Murashige (dates?)

Araki Murashige served Oda Nobunaga and fought against Möri Terumoto. He was accused of treason by Akechi Mitsuhide and fortified himself in his castle of Itami. After a year-long siege the castle fell, but Araki escaped to live in obscurity.

# Arima Tovouii (1570-1642)

At the time of Sekigahara, Toyouji fought for the Tokugawa at Akasaka (Mino) against Oda Hidenobu. Afterwards he received the fief of Fukuchiyama (Tamba - 80,000 koku). At the siege of Osaka he took 57 heads. In 1520 he received the fief of Kurume (Chikugo - 210,000 koku). He also participated in the Shimabara campaign.

# Arima Tadavori (dates?)

The son of the above, Tadayori fought beside his father at Shimabara under the same great standard, but to distinguish his troops used a lesser standard of two bundles of black feathers. His ashigaru also used one back flag, rather than two.

standard: black open square on white

# Arima Harunobu (+1612) This family of Arima had no connection with the

Arima family described above, but were based in the southern island of Kyūshū. Harunobu fought beside the Shimazu in their victory at Okita Nawate in 1584 over the Ryūzōji. He supported the Western Army at Sekigahara. Harunobu was baptised in 1579, but was disgraced and executed in 1612.

# Arima Naozumi (dates ?)

The son of Harunobu, Naozumi became a persecutor of Christianity. In early 1615 he received the fief of Nobeoka (Hvüga – 53,000 koku).

# Asai Sukemasa (1495-1546)

Sukemasa established Odani castle in 1516, and held out against the Sasaki.

# Asai Hisamasa (1524-73)

The son of Sukemasa, Hisamasa was defeated by the Sasaki, and retired in favour of his son Nagamasa.

# Asai Nagamasa (1545-73)

Nagamasa defeated Rokkaku Yoshitaka and Saito Tatsauski, but then came into conflict with Oda Nobunaga, whose sister he married. However, Asai then joined the Asakura and the monks of Mount Hiei in an alliance against Oda Nobunaga, and was defeated at the battle of Anegawa in 1570. A truce was concluded, but hostilities broke out again in 1573 when Nobunaga besieged him in Odani. Seeing that all was lost, Nagamasa entrusted his family to Nobunaga and committed suicide.

His three daughters, saved from Odani, were themselves to earn places in history. The delest, Yodo-gimi, married Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The second married Kyögoku Tākatsugu, while the third married Tokugawa Hidedada and was the mother of the third Tokugawa shogun, lemitsu. The departure of the three daughters from the burning Odani is a sentimental scene found in Japanese art.

# Asakura Norikage (1474-1552)

Asakura Norikage fought incessantly against the armies of the Ikkö-ikki in Echizen, Kaga and Noto provinces, including the battle of Kuzuryūgawa in 1506.

# Asakura Yoshikage (1533-73)

Asakura Yoshikage sided with Asai Nagamasa and saw his army defeated beside the Asai at the battle of Anegawa in 1570. In 1573 Yoshikage killed himself when under siege in Ichijo ga dani.

# Asakura Kagetake (dates?)

Kagetake was Asakura Yoshikage's commander in chief at the battle of Angrawa in 1570.

# Asano Nagamasa (1546-1610)

Nagamasa was the brother-in law of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, whom he accompanied on his campaign against the Moir. He took part in the campaign against the Hojo in 1590, and captured lwatsuki and Edo castles. He also fought in Korea.

# Asano Yukinaga (also called Yoshinaga)

# (1576-1613)

The son of Nagamasa, his first campaign was against the Hôjô at the age of fifteen. He served in Korea under Katô Kiyomasa and was part of the garrison defending Ulsan. In 1598 he received the fief of Fuchu (now Kôfu, Kai – 200,000 koku).

standard used in Korea: gold three-dimensional basketwork object

# Asano Nagaakira (1586-1632)

Nagaakira succeeded his brother Yukinaga, who died childless. He fought for the Tokugawa at Osaka and took 42 heads. In 1619 he received the fief of Hiroshima (Aki - 426.000 koku).

- banner: two black stripes at top of long white flag great standard: gold three-dimensional fly trap
- lesser standard: gold three dimensional by traj
- messengers' sashimono: black horō with gold discs
- sashimono: ten small white flags ashigaru: six small gold flags

# Asano Nagashige (dates?)

Nagashige was the son of Nagaakira. banner: five white discs on long black flag

great standard: white fukinuki sashimono: white disc on black messengers' sashimono: a white horō

# Ashikaga Takauji (1305-58)

Takauji was the first Ashikaga shogun.

# Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408)

Yoshimitsu brought the Nanbokucho Wars to an end, and built the Kinkakun (Golden Pavilion).

# Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-90)

Yoshimasa, builder of the Ginkakuji (Silver Pavilion) in Kyöto, was the shogun whose reign saw the Ōnin War.

# Ashikaga Yoshitane (1465-1522)

Yoshtuane was the tenth Ashikaga shogun. He was defeated in battle at Shogakuji (Kawachi) in 1491 and forred to flee. His enemies replaced him as shogun with Yoshizumi, but with the help of Ouchi Yoshida Yoshitane regained his place. This state of affairs did not last, and Yoshitane eventually did in event.

# Ashikaga Yoshizumi (1478-1511)

The eleventh Ashikaga shogun, Yoshizumi replaced Yoshitane at the age of sixteen, but was then replaced on Yoshitane's return.

# Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1510-50)

The twelfth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiharu was a mere puppet in the hands of the daimyō. Hounded from office and forced to flee, he died in exile.

# Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1535-65) Yoshiteru, the thirteenth Ashikaga shogun, jojned

forces with Hosokawa Harumoto to oppose the dominance exercised by Miyoshi Chökei and Matsunaga Hashde, but his opponents compelled him to banish Hosokawa instead. The conspirators attacked the Shogunal palace, where Ashikaga Yoshiteru, who was an accomplished swordsman and the pupil of the famous Tsukahara Bokuden, held them at bay until he was forced to commit hars-kiri.

# Ashikaga Yoshihide (1564-8)

Yoshihide was chosen by Yoshiteru's enemies to be the fourteenth Ashikaga Shogun when he was only two years old, but as Oda Nobunaga supported the late Yoshiteru's brother Yoshiaki he was forced to flee and died soon afterwards.

# Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-97)

Yoshjaki was the fifteenth and last Ashikaga

shogun. Oda Nobunaga entered Kyöto with his protégé in 1568, but in 1573, when Yoshiaki asked Takeda Shingen to help him to be rid of Nobunaga's control, he was deposed. Yoshiaki liyed on as a monk until 1597.

standard: white hata jirushi with red sun and gold lettering

banner: hata jirushi black 'Hachiman Dai Bosatsu' and bands on white

# Ashikaga Shigeuji (1434-97)

The Ashikaga family represented by Shigeuji, who was the first to use the title Koga-kubô, by which his descendants were known, was a branch based in the Kantô

# Ashikaga Masauji (+1531) Masauji was the son of Shigeuji.

-

# Ashikaga Yoshiaki (+1538)

Ashikaga Yoshiaki joined forces with Satomi Yoshitaka against Hōjō Ujitsuna, and was defeated and killed at the battle of Kōnodai in 1538

# Ashikaga Haruuji (+1560)

Although married to the daughter of Höjö Ujitsuna, he joined the Uesugi in opposing the Höjö and was defeated along with them at the battle of Kawagoe, fought at night in 1545.

#### Ashikaga Yoshiuii (dates?)

Yoshiuji was the last of the Koga-kubō. He was established in Kitsuregawa (Shimotsuke) in 1590.

# Ashina Morikiyo (1490-1553)

The Ashina were an important family in Mutsu province during the sixteenth century. In 1547 Morikiyo joined forces with Date Harumune in an unsuccessful attempt to seize the territory of the Soma family.

# Ashina Moriuji (1521-80)

For much of his life Ashina Moriuji fought against the Satake and the Hōjō.

#### Ashina Moritaka (1560-83)

Moritaka waged war against Date Masamune and Tamura Kiyozumi, but was assassinated by one of his own followers

# Ashina Morishige (1571-?)

Morishige was the son of Satake Yoshishige, but was chosen to succeed Ashima Moritaka, who had used chied childless. He was then only twelve years old. Many retainers of the Satake can followed him, which caused great dissent among the remaining which caused great dissent among the remaining askima retained to the service of Date Massamune. The latter took deviated the proportunity and lad stege to the Ashima retainers of the Workshaw in 1589. Morishige escaped, but they the rest of this life in seclusion.

# Aso Koretovo (+1584)

Aso Koretoyo possessed the castle of Yabe, in Chikugo province on Kyūshū.

# Aso Koremitsu (1581-93)

Koremissu was a child when has father died, and in 1588, when Higo province was divided between Konishi Yukinaga and Kató Kiyomasa following the completion of the Kyūshū campaign, Koremisus ought sanctuary with the later. However, Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered him to be killed when he was thirteen years old.

# Ayukawa Kiyonaga (dates?) Ayukawa Kiyonaga was one of the Uesugi

'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the Headquarters Division of the Uesugi army at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His banner was a complex black design on white.

# Baba Nobuharu (+1575) Baba Nobuharu was one of the 'Twenty-Four

Generals' of Takeda Shingen. He fought at Mikata ga Hara and was killed at the battle of Nagashino in 1575, where he commanded the vanguard of the right wing of Katsuyon's army.

His flags bore a design of a 'mountain path' (wavy lines) either black on white or white on black.

# Ban Dan'emon (d. 1615)

Ban Dan'emon attacked Hachisuka's division at the Honmachi bridge during the winter campaign of Osaka, and became known as the 'brave general of the night attack'. He was killed at the battle of Kashii.

# Bessho Nagaharu (1558-80)

Bessin Vaganaru (1350-80)
Bessin Vaganaru (1350-80)
Hideyoshi during the latter's advance along the coast of the Inland Sea on behalf of Oda Nobunaga.
Hideyoshi besieged him in his castle of Miki and wished to spare his life, but Bessho Nagaharu preferred to commit suicide.

# Ressho Tovohami (1578-2)

Toyoharu was only two years old when his father committed suicide. Later he received from Hideyoshi the castle of Ayabe and a revenue of 20,000 koku. He was dispossessed in 1628 on account of his bad conduct.

# Chōsokabe Kunichika (1503-56)

The Chösokabe family grew to dominate the island of Shikoku. Kunichika built the castle of Toyooka in Tosa province.

# Chosokabe Motochika (1539-99)

On the death of his father, Chosokabe Motochika transferred his residence to Nagahama, and in a series of military campaigns took over the entire Toos province From Ichijk Kanesada by 1573. He then continued the conquest of the whole of Shikokiu on behalf of Oda Nobunaga, but following Nobunaga's death he decided to keep the island for himself. In 1585 Toyotomi Heleoyoshi Invaded Shikokiu. After some resistance Motochika submitted and was confined to Toos once again. He took part in the Kyushu and Korean campaigns, then transferred his domains to his soo and return.

# Chosokabe Morichika (+1615)

Morichika sided against the Tokugawa at the time of Sekigahara and was dispossessed. In 1615 he fought at Osaka, but at the fall of the castle he fled. On being captured he was beheaded.

The mon of the Chôsokabe was a floral design.

within a circle.

# Daidōji Shigeoki (dates?)

Daidōji Shigeoki was a prominent retainer of the Hōjō and held the castle of Matsuyama.

# Date Terumune (+1584)

Date Terumune was murdered in 1584 by Hatakeyama Yoshitsugu. The revenge campaign launched by his son Masamune established the Date as the most important family in northern Japan.

# Date Masamune (1566-1636)

Date Masamune was one of the greatest of the daimyō, who ruled much of northern Japan. He succeeded his father at the age of eighteen, and made war against Hatakeyama Yoshitsugu, whom he defeated at the battle of Hitotoribashi in 1585. In 1589 he took over Kurokawa castle from the Ashina. In 1590, following the defeat of the Hojō by Hidevoshi. Date Masamune reached an accommodation with the victor. In 1600 he supported the Tokugawa cause in the north by making war against Uesugi Kagekatsu, and, assisted by Mogami Yoshiaki, he defeated Naoe Kanetsugu. As a reward he received the fief of the Desugi. and established himself at lwatezawa, the name of which he changed to Sendai. He fought at Osaka Masamune was interested in Christianity and sent an embassy to Europe headed by Hasekura Tsunenaga. He died at the age of 70. renowned as a warrior, diplomat and patron of the arts

Masamune wore a personal sashimono flag of a rising sun on white. He used a white banner with lovebirds in bamboo design, plus blue banners with a gold disc. He outfitted his entire army in the high quality yukinoshita do armours, and at the time of the Korean expedition kitted out his personal foot-soldiers in elaborate gold helmets.

banner: large white flag with large red sun's disc, plus blue banners with gold disc

great standard: gold feather plume above two black umbrellas

lesser standard: plain black square banner with black plume sashimono; black lovebirds on white

# Date Tadamune (+1658)

Tadamune was the elder son of Masamune.

# Date Hidemune (dates?)

Hidemune was the second son of Date Masamune. He received the fief of Uwajima (Iyo, on Shikoku island) in 1614 - 100.000 koku.

banner: black and white stripes

great standard: black 'fly trap' with gold spear

lesser standard: gold two-dimensional crescent

#### Doi Toshikatsu (1573-1644)

Doi Toshikatsu was the son of Mizuno Nobumoto, and was adopted by Doi Toshimasa. As one of the three counsellors of Tokugawa lemistu he was a pillar of the Tokugawa house. His troops were known as the 'yellow regiment' (ki sonae), the predominant colour of the flags.

banner: black water wheel design on yellow sashimono: plain yellow flag with white flag hanging horizontally

great standard: a large flag with the black water wheel design

lesser standard: a three-dimensional device of seven black cocks' feather plumes ashigaru: probably a small yellow flag like the sashimono

# Endő Yoshinobu (Suminobu?) (dates?) The family were originally called To, but changed

The raining were originally called to, our changes their name to Endó on being made daimyó in 1600. There is therefore no connection with the Endő killed at the battle of the Anegawa in 1570.

banner: red disc on a black and white ground standard: two-dimensional gold fan sashimono: two gold flags

# Fukushima Masanori (1561-1624)

Fukushima Masanori was one of the 'Seven Spears' at the battle of Shizugatake in 1883, as a result of which he received the fiel of Klyosu (Owari) and 200,000 koku. In 1600 Masanori captured Gifu castle for the Tokugawa and fought at Sekigahara, where he onposed the troops of Ukita Hidde.

standard: silver leaf in three dimensions banner: white waves on black

# Fukushima Masayori (dates?)

Masayori was Masanori's younger brother, daimyo of Nagashima (Ise - 12.000 koku).

#### Furuta Kichiza'emonnoiō (+1580)

This samural served Hideyoshi and was a member of his 'yellow horō-shū'. He was killed in the attack on Miki castle in 1580.

# Furuta Shigekatsu (1561-1600)

Shigekatsu served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who granted him the castle of Matsuzaka (Ise - 37,000 koku). After Sekigahara his fief was raised to 60,000 koku.

banner: three white motifs on black sashimono: single white motif on black standard: white three-dimensional hat messengers' sashimono: a black horo with two motifs in white

# Furuta Shigenari (1545-1615)

Shigenari was a noted tea master. He received 10,000 koku in 1600 but was dispossessed after communicating with the besieged in Osaka. It was during this siege that he astounded his comrades by cutting an aesthetically pleasing piece of bamboo from the palisades while under fire!

#### Firwa Katsumitsu (dates?)

Katsumitsu fought at the battle of Shizugatake in 1583.

banner: black and white with a small red flag standard: white with a blue stripe and a black plume

# Gamō Katahide (1534-84)

Katahide was keeper of the castle of Hino (Ōmi) for the Sasaki, then entered the service of Oda Nobunaga.

# Gamó Uiisato (1557-96)

The son of Katahide, Ujisato distinguished himself by taking the casted of Oschol (se) at the age of chirteen! He subsequently married Nobunagas' daughter. He received the fiel of Matsuzaka (ste 120,000 koku). After the siege of Odawara he received Aizu (Musts) and 420,000 koku. In 1591 he defeated Kunoe Masazame at his castle of the same name and revieved 1,000,000 koku. Bis brilliam career came to an end at the age of the control of th

standard: black feathers

# Gamō Hidevuki (1583-1612)

Hideyuki succeeded his father Ujisato at thirteen, and was deprived of his immense domains. Instead he received Utsunomiva (Shimotsuke -180.000 koku).

standard: three hats on a pole

# Goto Matabei Mototsugu (+1615)

Gotó Mototsugu had a long and distinguished samurai career, serving Kuroda Yoshitaka and then Toyotomi Hidevoshi. He fought in Korea and at Sekigahara. He afterwards sided with Hidevori and was killed at the battle of Domyoji, during the summer campaign of Ösaka.

standard: black three dimensional crescent

moon banner: plain white

mon: hanging wisteria

Gotő Ujifusa (1570-1615)

Uiifusa was the son of Mototsugu, and also died during the siege of Osaka in 1615.

# Hachisuka Masakatsu (1525-85)

Masakatsu served Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hidevoshi. He received the fief of 10,000 koku from the latter.

# Hachisuka Jemasa (1558-1638)

Son of Masakatsu, he served Hidevoshi against Shikoku island and received Tokushima (Awa) in 1585. He also served in Korea.

Descriptions of his heraldry match that of his son below, except that the sashimono was a white flag with a black swastika, or with colours reversed.

# Hachisuka Yoshishige (1581-1615)

Yoshishige sided with Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1600, and after the battle of Sekigahara he received a fief of 186,000 koku in Awa. After Ösaka he also acquired Awaii, his revenues rising to 258,000 koku.

hanner: black and white with a black swastika. plus a small white flag with the swastika standard: two three-dimensional balls of black

feathers sashimono: two black flags

messengers' sashimono: black and white horō

# Hajikano Masatsugu (dates?)

Haiikano Masatsugu was an ashigaru taishō under Takeda Shingen. At the time of Shingen's advance on Odawara in 1569 he bravely tested the depth of the swollen Sasaogawa until only the sashimono on his armour was visible. His sashimono hore the design of the 'spear' playing piece for the game of shogi, which can only move forward and not retreat, the reason he gave to Shingen for his courage in advancing.

# Hara Masatane (d. 1575)

Hara Masatane was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He was killed at the battle of Nagashino.

His hanners bore a black device on white.

# Hara Toratane (d. 1564)

Hara Toratane was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. It was said that he could use ten ashigaru with the effectiveness of a hundred samurai.

His banners bore a white design on blue.

# Hasegawa Ujikazu (dates?)

In 1600 he tried to join Ishida Mitsunari and entered Sawayama castle sashimono: two-dimensional gold crescent moon

# Hasekura Tsunenaga (1561-1622) Tsunenaga was sent by Date Masamune on a

historic embassy to Europe, during which he was received by Pope Paul V. On his return he found that Masamune's disposition had changed towards Christianity, but Tsunenaga remained steadfast.

# Hasekura Tsunevori (dates?)

The son of Tsunenaga, Tsunevori was put to death for his Christian beliefs by Date Tadamune, son of Masamune

# Hashiba Hidevoshi, see Toyotomi Hidevoshi

# Hashiba Hidenaga (1540-91)

Hidenaga was the half-brother of Hidevoshi, and accompanied him in all his campaigns, particularly the Shikoku and Kvūshū expeditions. In 1582 he received Korivama (Yamato).

# Hashiba Hidekatsu (1567-93)

Hidekatsu was the fourth son of Oda Nobunaga, See Oda.





















Opposite page: Mon and other heraldic designs: 1. A mon used by several families and individuals including Ashikaga Yoshiteru and Hosokawa Katsumoto. 2. Device used by Hosokawa Tadaoki. 3. The circular butterfly mon of Ikeda Terumasa. Other Ikeda members used a sideways hutterfly like the Taira mon. 4. The complete heraldic display of Ikoma Kazumasa, for details see text. 5. The comb design of Imagawa Yoshimoto. 6. The banner of Katakura Kagetsung. 7. A mon used by several families, including Furuta. Sakuma and Kikkawa & The crossed sickles mon of Kohavakawa Hideaki. 9. The 'wisteria as a tomoe' mon of the Kuroda, 10. The young Maeda Toshije, showing the Maeda mon. 11. The ashigaru back flags used by Matsudaira (Kata-

used by Nagai Naomasa. Hatakeyama Takamasa (+1576)

Takamasa was defeated by Miyoshi Chôkei in 1559 but later acquired from the Miyoshi the castle of Takava, which had formerly been his own. In 1578 he lost it again to one of his own retainers Yuza Nobunori, who killed Takamasa's son.

hara) Yasunobu. 12. The mon of Miyoshi Chōkei. 13. The crane mon of Mori Nagayoshi and also

Nanbu Toshinao, 14. The mon of the Mori, also

# Hatakeyama Yoshitsugu (dates?)

No relation to the above, Yoshitsugu murdered the father of Date Masamune, then was defeated by him at the battle of Hitotoribashi in 1585.

# Hatano Hidebaru (d. 1575)

Besieged in his castle of Yakami by Akechi Mitsuhide. Hatano only surrendered when Mitsuhide took his mother as hostage.

#### Hatano Muneharu (dates?)

Son of Hideharu, his personal sashimono was a emall fukinuki

#### Hattori Hanzo (1541-96)

Hanzö was a retainer of Tokugawa leyasu, and the legendary leader of the ninia of Iga. His men became the guards of Edo castle, and the Hanzo gate still bears his name.

# Hayashi Tamba no kami (dates?)

Nothing is known of this samurai except for his use of a white standard bearing the Nichiren slogan 'Namu Myohō Renge Kyō'.

#### Hijikata Katsuuji (dates?)

Little is known of this samurai. He served the Tokugawa family and received the fief of Komono (Ise -11,000 koku) in 1600. He served under Tokugawa Hidetada at Ōsaka. His mon was a triple tomoe.

hanner: black motifs on white great standard: five white flags lesser standard: blue hanging flag sashimono: small black flag

messengers' sashimono: small version of hanner

#### Hineno Takavoshi (+1600)

Takayoshi served against the Hōjō at Odawara and thus received the fief of Takashima (Shinano -28 000 koku)

# Hineno Yoshitomo (1588-1658)

The son of Hineno Takavoshi, Yoshitomo was transferred in 1601 to Minu (Shimotsuke). hanner: black motif on white mon

sashimono: gold two-dimensional sunburst ashigaru: small version of banner

# Hiraga Genshin (+1536)

Hiraga Genshin, a retainer of the Takeda, was killed in 1536 at the battle of Un no kuchi, the first battle in which Takeda Shingen took part.

### Hiraiwa Chikavoshi (1542-1611)

Chikavoshi was the trusted confidant of Tokugawa Jevasu. In 1590 he received the castle of Umavabashi (Közuke - 30,000 koku).

# Hisamatsu Sadakatsu (1560-1624)

Sadakatsu was successively daimyō of Kakegawa (Tōtōmi), Kuwana (Ise) and Nagashima (Ise).

#### Hitotsuvanagi Naomori (1565-1636)

Hitotsuvanagi Naomori served Tokugawa Ieyasu after Sekigahara, and was present at Osaka.

# Hōiō Yasutoki (1183-1242)

Yasutoki was the third of the Regents to be

supplied by the Kamakura Hōjō family. It was Yasutoki who overcame emperor Go-Toba at the third battle of Uii in 1221.

#### Hôjô Tokimune (1251-84)

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Tokimune was Regent when the Mongol attempts at invasion occurred, but died soon after his triumph.

#### Hôjō Takatoki (1303-33)

Ninth and last of the Hōjō Regents, Takatoki opposed the attempts by Go Daigo to reassert the imperial power, but was defeated by Nitta Yoshisada at the siege of Kamakura in 1333.

#### Hojo Soun (1432-1519)

A full account of this illustrious samurai family, known as the later Höjö or the Odawara Höjö, appears elsewhere in this work. Höjö Söun was the first to adopt the family name. He captured Odawara, which was to become the Höjö base.

Soun adopted the fish-scale design as his mon. standard: red hata jirushi with mon in gold

# Hōjō Ujitsuna (1487-1541)

Ujitsuna was the heir of Soun, and the victor of the first battle of Konodai in 1538.

#### Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515-70)

Ujiyasu continued the family tradition, and had a long struggle with Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin. He won the battles of Kawagoe (1545) and the second Könodai (1564).

standard: a banner coloured yellow, blue, red, white, black from top

banner a large white flag wider than it was

deep with the Hōjō mon

# Höjö Ujimasa (1538-90)

Ujimasa consolidated the Hōjō position, and committed suicide at the time of the fall of Odawara in 1590

Höjö Ujimasa used a long white nobori with a slogan on it. See Samurai: The Warrior Tradition

# Hōjō Ujinao (1562-91)

Ujinao was the fifth and last of the Odawara Hōjō daimyō.

Ujinao used as his uma-jirushi a white flag with the character 'mu' in black. For descendants of the Höjö family O Uma firushi gives the following, which matches earlier descriptions:

# Hōjō Ujishige (dates?)

banner: black and white, with the Höjö mon standard: gold three-dimensional device with feather plume sashimon; as hanner

illiono: as banner

Other prominent Höjö family members were:

# Hōjō Tsunanari

Tsunanari was the adopted brother of Ujiyasu, and was the defender of Kawagoe castle in the battle of 1545. He led the 'yellow regiment'

Tsunanari's uma-jirushi was a yellow flag with the characters 'Hachiman' in black.

#### Hôiô Tsunataka

Tsunataka commanded the 'red regiment' from Tamanawa castle.

#### Hôjô Ujiteru

Ujiteru was the second son of Ujiyasu, who commanded Hachiōji castle.

# Hōjō Ujikuni

Ujikuni was third son of Ujiyasu, and the keeper of the strategic Hachigata castle.

### Hōjō Ujimitsu

Ujimitsu was the fourth son of Ujiyasu. He commanded the Miura company.

#### Hōjō Ujihide

Ujihide was the fifth son of Ujiyasu. He commanded the Kotsukue company.

#### Honda Tadakatsu (1548-1610)

Honda Tadakatsu was the companion of Tokugawa leyasu in all his campaigns. He commanded in the front rank at the battle of Nagashino in 1975, and appears on the Nagashino screen in his famous helmet ornamented with wooden antiers, and with a large Buddhist rosary over his shoulder. He was created daimyof of Olak Jazusa – 10,000 koku) in 1590, and after Sekigahara received Kuwana (1se – 15,000 koku).



Hójó Újiyasu (1515-70) was the grandson of Hójó Söun, and brought the Odawara Hójó to the height of their powers. He faced severe challenges from other daimyo, notably Takeda, Uesugi and Imagawa.

For heraldry see below, but note also that on the Anegawa screen Tadakatsu is shown with a standard of Shoki, identical to that otherwise associated with Maeda Toshiie.

# Honda Tadamasa (1575-1638)

Tadamasa was the son of Honda Tadakatsu, and continued to serve the Tokugawa. In 1617 he received the fiel of Himeji (Harima - 250,000 koku). banner: black and white, with the character

'hon'

standard: two three-dimensional balls of black feathers

ashigaru: small red flag

lord's helmet: gold catfish tail with gold badge

Honda Tadatsugu (1549-1613)

Tadatsugu owned the castle of lna in Mikawa province.

# Honda Yasutoshi (dates?)

Yasutoshi was the son of Tadatsugu, and was the keeper of Okazaki castle. He was created a daimyō in 1601, and received the fief of Nishio (Mikawa), and in 1607 Zeze (Ōmi - 30,000 koku). He served during the winter campaign of Osaka.

banner: black band on red, with a small red flag bearing the Honda mon in black on a white disc great standard: fukinuki with black band on red ashigaru: black flag with serrated edge lesser standard: red borizontal flag beneath a gold three-dimensional seashell

# Honda Toshinaga (dates?)

This Honda served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and received the fief of Takatori (Yamato) in 1600. banner: black stripes and mon on red

banner: black stripes and mon on red lesser standard: white fukinuki sashimono: gold three-dimensional deer antler great standard: black mon on white

# Honda Shimosa no kami (dates?)

Little is known of this family, whose name is written using different ideographs from the famous Honda of Mikawa. They originated from Satsuma province.

banner: white with the three-leaf mon in a circle in black sashimono: plain black flag

messengers' sashimono: black horo great standard: gold flag lesser standard: gold fan above a black horse hair plume lord's helmet: black with gold badge

# Honiō Shigenaga (dates?)

Honjō Shugenaga was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'.

His banner bore the character 'jō' in black on white.

# Hori Hidemasa (1553-90)

A celebrated samurai who served Oda Nobunaga and then Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1581 he received the castle of Obama (Wakasa). He fought at the battle of Yamazaki in 1582, and received Sakamoto castle as a reward. He died during the siege of Odawara in 1590.

#### Hori Hidebaru (1575-1606)

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The son of Hidemasa, he received the fief of Kasuga-yama (Echigo), and in 1598 Takata (Echigo - 350,000 koku).

Hori Tadatoshi, son of the above, was dispossessed in 1610, along with his uncle Chikayoshi.

#### Hori Chikavoshi (1580-1637)

Second son of Hidemasa, dispossessed in 1610.

was forgiven and in 1612 received the fief of Zöö (now Nagaoka Echigo 40,000 koku).

#### Hori Naomasa (d. 1608)

On entering the service of Hori, Hidemasa Naomasa, formerly called Okuda, changed his name to Hori. He served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and he received the fiel of Sanjó (Echigo – 50,000 koku)

For heraldry see below.

# Hori Naovori (1577-1639)

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The son of Hori Naomasa, Naoyori fought at both

# THE 1559 HOJO REGISTER

The Höjö family records provide an excellent opportunity to compare the layout of the Hōiō retainer band with its actual physical expression on the battlefield. The Hōiō register, the Odawara-shu shoryō yakuchū, listed the military obligation of the retainers of the Höjö in 1559 under the third daimvo Hoio Ujivasu. There would also be a sizeable contribution to the army from the daimyo's own lands, which were not registered. Each of the retainers counted below would have had to supply men in accordance with the current compilation, which roughly gives a number of 10,000 men in all. The names refer to companies (shū). As noted in Chapter III, the Höjö companies were largely identified by the name of the castle to which they were attached. This was sometimes expressed under the name of the province in which the castle was located.

Gokamon

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Gokamon means relatives, and inchuded Ujiyasu's heir Ujimasa, his second son Ujiteru, and his third son Ujikuni. Hojō Ujikuni commanded the Hachigata company from the strategic Hachigata castle in northern Musashi. Höjö Ujiteru led the contingent from Hachiðji castle.

Go-umawari-shū

Tamanawa-shû

The Go-umawari-shū were the élite bodyguard of Höjö Ujlyasu. The next companies are identified by their geographical location.

Minra-chū 49 Uiitaka-shū 4 Kotsukue-shii 29 Tsukuí-shů 59 Izu-shu 29 Matsuvama-shû Edo-shii 103 Odawara-shū 33 Kawagoe-shū 12

The Kotsukue company was led by Ujiyasu"s fifth son Ujihide, who was adopted by the Uesugi family in 1563. The Miura company was commanded by Ujiyasu's fourth son Hōjō Ujimitsu. Other units registered for supplying troops are as follows:

Ashigaru-shū 17
Jiryō (temple land) 28
Sharyō (shrine land) 13
Shokunin-shū (craftsmen) 26
Takoku-shū (allies

including Oyamada) 28

When Höjö Ujiyasu's army was on the battlefield, it would consist of several separate sections. The figures in this source do not quite match up with the muster roll above.

known as the 28 rosho, formed the first three ranks, as follows: The first rank, facing on to the enemy, were the 20 shosho, 'generals' companies' with their

followers.

Behind them were the five karō (senior retainers) whose units were distinguished by the use of different coloured

units were distinguished by the use of different coloured sashimono flags, and therefore called the go-shiki sonae, or 'five colour regiments': Ösaka campaigns for the Tokugawa.

banner: three white lozenges on black messengers' sashimono: black horô great standard; white lozenge on black lesser standard; inverted three-dimensional gold umbrella

sashimono; white open square on black lord's belmet: silver catfish tail

Horio Yoshiharu (1543-1611)

Yoshibaru first came to the attention of Toyotomi Hidevoshi when the latter saw him hunting a giant boar. He took a significant part in the siege of Inabayama (Gifu) castle, and fought for Hideyoshi at the battle of Yamazaki in 1582. In 1590 he received the fief of Hamamatsu (Tôtômi - 60.000 koku). After Sekigahara he received the fief of Matsue (Izumo - 235,000 koku).

Horio Tadauii (1575-1604)

Son of Yoshiharu, he fought at Sekigahara and predeceased his father

Horio Tadaharu (1599-1633)

Tadaharu became the heir of his grandfather Yoshiham.

Hộiô Tsunanari (Kawagoe castle) vellow

Hőiő Tsunataka

(Tamanawa castle) red Tominaga Uemon (Kurihashi castle) blue

Kasawara Noto no kami (Shimoda castle) white

Tame Suo no kami (Hirai castle) black

Each of these coloured flags would, in addition, hear the Hōjō mon of the fish-scale design, which can be seen denicted on a red sashimono preserved in the Kanagawa Prefectural Art Museum in Yokohama. There is also a reference to black sashimono ('sashimono should be black and new') in a military ordinance issued by Höjö Ujikuni in 1574.

In the third rank were the three karo, Matsuda Yasusada (Yamanaka castle). Toyama Naokage (Edo castle) and Daidōli Shigeoki (Matsuvama castle), but their forces were not distinguished by using coloured flags.

The most fascinating use of heraldry in the Hōjō army is found in the core of the army.

the go-hatamote 48 bansho. The 48 banshō captains, were under Uiivasu's direct command, and were divided into six companies of seven and one of six. Each commanded 20 men, and every unit was distinguished by a single kana on his sashimono. The interesting point about this arrangement is that the seven units were grouped alphabetically in accordance with the traditional

- order was:
- i. ro. ha. ni. ho. he. to
- chi, ri, nu, ru, o, wa, ka,
- vo. ta. re. so. tsu. ne. na - ra, mu, u, I, no, o, ku,
- va. ma. ke. fu. ko. e. te - a. sa. ki. vu. me. kvo
- (instead of n)
- mi, shi, e, hi, mo, se, su

Seven of the leaders bore the rank of general, and had their kana, which were mi, shi, fu, hi, mo and su, in red on their flags, Each captain commanded twenty warriors, making a total of 1008 horsemen

Behind this rank were the go umawari-shū, the personal bodyguard to Hōjō Ujiyasu, who numbered 120 men Fach had one personal spear-carrier.

There were also four units directly accountable to the daimvõ. First was the ashigaru company, showing the marked difference from later years when a daimyō would put his ashigaru in the front ranks. Second were the takoku-shii (allies), which consisted of troops from territories taken i-ro-ha syllabary, so that the over by the Hojo, or genuine

alliances. The gokamon-shū (literally the company with the family badge) were family members, plus followers, and the personal attendants of the general on the day of battle. such as pages. The final contingent, the tôii ukiyaku voriaishū, translates roughly as the 'transient forces at that time'. or 'odds and ends'! These would

include rönin.

banner: white design as above on black messengers' sashimono: long white flag sashimono: five small black flags ashigaru: small white flag

#### Hoshina Masanao (1542-1610)

Masanao was originally the keeper of the castle of Takatō (Shinano) for the Takeda. In 1590 he received the fief of Tako (Shimosa) from Toyotomi Hidevoshi.

#### Hoshina Masamitsu (1561-1631)

Masamitsu was the son of Masanao. After Sekigahara he received the fief of Takatō (Shinano -30,000 koku). He fought during the summer campaign of Ōsaka and adopted the fourth son of the Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada as his own son.

#### Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430-73)

Katsumoto was one of the protagonists in the Önin War, the conflict with which the Sengoku Period began.

#### Hosokawa Masamoto (1466-1507)

The son of Katsumoto, Masamoto was assassinated after a life of warfare and intrigue.

### Hosokawa Sumimoto (1496-1520)

Sumimoto was an accomplished general who was highly involved in shogunal politics.

#### Hosokawa Harumoto (1519-63)

Harumoto was the supporter of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu and was an early exponent of the use of guns.

# Hosokawa Fujitaka [Yūsai] (1534-1610)

Hosokawa Nagaoka fought for Oda Nobunaga against the Ishiyama Honganji. He later fought for Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Kyūshū and against the Höiö of Odawara. He was a noted scholar.

### Hosokawa Tadaoki (1564-1645)

Tadaoki married Gracia, the daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide, known for her steadfast Christian faith. Tadaoki fought in the Odawara campaign, besieging Nirayama castle (Izu). Before Sekigahara, Ishida Mitsunari attempted to take Gracia hostae along with the famillies of other daimyó, but Gracia

allowed herself to be put to death in accordance with her husband's wishes, rather than submit. Tadaoki fought at Sekigahara, and received the fiel of Kokura (Buzen - 370,000 koku). He also fought at Čisaka

banner: black stars on white sashimono: three small flags with white stars

on black great standard: black ideograph on white

lesser standard: small red flag

# Hosokawa Tadatoshi (1586-1641)

Tadatoshi was the son of Tadaoki. He banished all Christians from his lands, and took part in the campaign against the Shimabara rebels. He received the fief of Kumamoto (Higo - 540,000 koku) in 1632.

# Hotta Masamori (1606-51)

Hotta Masamori was an important figure during the reign of the third Tokugawa shogun lemitsu.

#### Ichibashi Nagakatsu (1558-1621)

A minor daimyō who in 1616 received the fief of Sanjō (Echigo - 40,000 koku).

#### Ichibu Kagevu (dates?)

Ichibu Kageyu was a retainer of the Matsuura daimyō and was of the Koteda family before being adopted into the Ichibu family. He was baptised in 1557 as Juan. He fought at the battle of Aiko no Ura in 1563, and used firearms to sond effect.

#### Ichiio Fusaie (1445-1511)

Fusaie became lord of Tosa on Shikoku island in 1469.

#### Ichiio Kanesada (1543-81)

The great-grandson of Fusale, Kanesada lost Tosa to his former retainer Chosokabe Motochika. He was a Christian, and was assassinated.

#### Ichiiō Uchimasa (1560-80)

The son of Kanesada, Uchimasa married the daughter of Chôsokabe Motochika. In 1580 he revolted against the Chôsokabe, but was defeated and fled. It is believed that Motochika had him poisoned.

### Ichijō Nobutatsu (dates?)

Ichijo Nobutatsu was a younger brother of Takeda Shingen. He was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals' and fought at the battle of Nagashuno in 1575.

His banners were white over red, but as a family member all sashimono would bear the Takeda mon.

#### li Naomasa (1561-1602)

One of the shi-tennô of Tokugawa leyasu, Naomasa received the fiel of Minowa (Közüke – 12,000 koku) in 1590. He was the first to climb up the walls of Gifu castle during the preliminary campaign to Sekigabara. After Sekigahara, where he was wounded, he received Sawayama (Ömi – 180,000 koku).

For heraldry see the separate article.

# Ii Naotaka (1590-1659)

Naotaka was the second son of Naomasa. In 1610 he received 10,000 koku, but when his elder brother refused to serve at Osaka Naotaka went in his stead. He took a prominent part in the battle of Wakae. At the end of the campaign he was granted his brother's fiel. Naotaka finishe the castle of Hikone and took possession of it in 1623.

The li army was well-known for its use of red as colour of flags and armour. The li 'red regiment' first saw action during the Komaki campaign of 1584. O Uma Jirushi has only a brief record of their heraldry, but see the separate feature elsewhere in this book.

banner: plain red with small red flag

great standard: gold fly trap with red tassels sashimono: plain red, to which samurai added their names in gold

#### lida Kazube'e (dates?)

Kazube'e was a retainer of Katô Kiyomasa and fought at the second siege of Chinju, where he was responsible for the use of protective wagons for attacking the walls.

#### Ijūin Hisanori (dates?)

Hisanori was a distinguished general of the Shimazu, who fought at the battle of Hetsugigawa in 1586, among others.

#### Ikeda Tsuneoki (+1584)

Tsuneoki fought at the battle of Nagakute in 1584. banner: white with sword of Fudő amid red flames

#### Ikeda Nobuteru (1536-84)

Nobuteru served Oda Nobunaga, and in 1579 he received the fief of Amagasaki (Settsu). He was killed at the battle of Nagakute in 1584.

#### Ikeda Terumasa (1564-1613)

The son of Nobuteru, Terumasa also fought at Nagakute. After Sekigahara he received the fief of Harima (520,000 koku), and took the name of Matsudaira.

His mon appears as a butterfly in a circular shape.

#### Ikeda Toshitaka (1584-1616)

The son of Terumasa, Toshitaka took part in the siege of Gifu (1600) and the campaigns of Ōsaka. In 1613 he inherited the castle of Himeji.

banner: black and white with a butterfly mon great standard: two-dimensional gold horns lesser standard: gold three-dimensional

umbrella messengers' sashimono: black horō sashimono: five sets of three white flags with serrated edges

ashigaru: small black and white flag with butterfly mon

#### Ikeda Nagavoshi (1570-1614)

The third son of Nobuteru, Nagayoshi was adopted by Toyotom Hideyoshi in 1581. He took part in the siege of Gifu, and received the fief of Tottori (Inaba = 90.000 koku).

#### Ikeda Nagavuki (1587-1632)

The son of Nagayoshi, Nagayuki took part in the summer campaign of Osaka. In 1617 he received the fief of Matsuvama (Bitchū - 65.000 koku).

#### Ikoma Chikamasa (d. 1598)

Ikoma Chikamasa served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and took part in the battles of Shizugatake (1583) and Komaki (1584). He then received the fief of Takashima (Omi - 20,000 koku). In 1587 he

### THE II 'RED DEVILS'

The troops of li Naomasa and his son Naotaka, the most loval of the Tokugawa hereditary vassals (fudai), formed an important part of the Tokugawa army at Sekigahara and at Osaka, and provide the most striking illustration of a contingent adopting its own distinctive colours. The like Gunpo, quoted by Takahashi, gives the full regulations for the appearance of this army, to a degree of detail that is quite unique. Takahashi gives no date for the document,

early seventeenth century. The following is a full translation. "Item, the standard is a 5 shaku length of four widths of silk. On a red ground, the mon which is the character 'I' in gold in the centre. The pole is lacquered black.

but it probably dates from the

"Item, the personal large banner is two widths of silk, 1 io long. The mon is on red ground. By invitation on a 7 shaku length, on a red ground, the characters 'Hachiman Dai Rosatsu' in white. The nole is lacquered black. "Item, the lesser standard is

a gold fly-catcher, with a black-lacquered nole.

"Item, the messengers wear a light blue hozuki (?) horo.

received the fief of Takamatsu (Sanuki - 60,000 koku). He fought at Odawara (1590) and joined the invasion of Korea in 1592.

For heraldry see below.

Ikoma Kazumasa (+1610) Son of the above, Kazumasa served leyasu, and after Sekigahara received 170,000 koku.

with on it as one pleases in gold, excepting that, as from the beginning of Keicho (1596). everyone's surname was in black on gold.

"Item, yumi (bow) and teppo (arquebus) kashira, each a madder-red haori.

"Item, monogashira (other-

wise known as ko gashira), a red sashimono as one pleases. "Item, the mounted samurai,

on a 5 shaku length of two widths of silk on a red ground the surname written in gold.

"Item, retainers' personal flags the same, excepting that by invitation the family badge (kamon) in white on a red

ground

family of birth.

"Item, retainers (baishin) of other retainers, if mounted immediate samurai the same. excepting that with immediate samurat the surname in gold. the haishin have the surname in white, the others the mon of the

(maedate) on armour, a 3 shaku tentsuki, in the case of immediate samurai gold, retainers silver. (Note: the tentsuki is a pair of straight sided horns.)

"Item, the ashigaru's back flags (koshi-zashi), three, each of one width of silk, 5 shaku long, direct/immediate ashigaru a red field with no mon. retainers the mon of the family of birth in white. "Item, all armour, harness,

saddle and stimups to be red. with the exception that retainers may display in gold the mon of their family of birth (Takahashi 1965:30),"

Note how much the heraldry adopted depends on the nature of the relationship to the daimyō, such as being a retainer, or a warrior directly commanded by the lord.

The regulations fit almost exactly with the figures depicted on the painted screen depicting the li army at Ösaka. which is on display in the museum at the foot of the hill on which the Ii's Hikone castle stands. Using a rule of thumb of two mounted and twenty foot per 1000 koku, the li contingent at Osaka would have consisted of about 20 and 200 men respectively, plus their own followers. On the "Item, the helmet front crest screen annear the 19 mounted samurai, of whom 9 wear red horo. There are 123 samurai on foot, mostly armed with long spears. Nearly all have inscriptions in gold which are the surnames referred to above, although one or two have mon. There are 50 ashigaru of whom 19 have arquebuses.

> hanner: three black fans on white messengers' sashimono; white fan on a black horō great standard; white stars on black sashimono: narrow black flag with white fan lesser standard: white three-dimensional device with black feather plume

#### Imagawa Yoshimoto (1519-60)

Yoshimoto was defeated by Oda Nobuhide at Azukizaka in 1542, but still managed to bring Mikawa, Tötömi and Suriga under his control. In 1560 he moved into Owari, where he was met by the small force of Oda Nobunaga at the decisive battle of Okehazama. Here Yoshimoto was killed.

mon: as Hosokawa Katsumoto standard; gold comb design on blue flag

banner: two black bands and paulownia mon on white

#### Imagawa Ujizane (1538-1614)

Following the death of his father, Ujizane lost much of his influence and support. In 1568 he was, defeated by Takeda Shingen, then defeated again by him in 1570, after which he retired.

# Imaizumi Naiki (d. 1575)

Naiki was a 22-year-old samurai-taishō (commander of a samurai unit) at the siege of Nagashino in 1575. He stuck bis head out of an arrow port to judge the progress of the siege and was seriously wounded by a sniper. He later died.

#### Ina Tadatsugu (1551-1607)

Ina Tadatsugu served Tokugawa Ieyasu, who bestowed upon him the fief of Konosu (Musashi -13.000 koku). He fought at Sekigahara.

# Ina Tadamasa (dates?)

The son of Tadatsugu, Tadamasa was dispossessed for his part in a conspiracy.

#### Inaba Sadamichi (1551-1606)

Of the senior branch of the family, Sadamichi received the fief of Hachiman (Mino - 40,000 koku) in 1585. In 1600 he received the fief of Usuki (Bunzo - 56,000 koku).

#### Inaha Norimichi (dates?)

Norimichi was the son of Sadamichi, and took part in the winter campaign of Ōsaka.

#### Inaba Ittetsu Masanari (d. 1628)

The junior branch of the inaba family, represented by Ittetsu Masanari, fought at the battle of Anegawa in 1570. In 1592 he served in Korea, and then served the Tokugawa. In 1619 he received the fief of Itoigawa (Echigo - 25,000 koku). banner: white disc on black

sashimono: five black feather plumes

messengers' sashimono: three black feather plumes on a tall pole

### Inaba Awaii no kami Norimichi (dates?)

This Inaba served Tokugawa Ieyasu. His given name is written using different ideographs from the Norimichi above.

messengers' sashimono: black horô great standard: gold fukinuki surrounded by

great standard: gold fukinuki surrounded black 'garland'

# Inagaki Shigetsuna (dates?)

Little is known of this Mikawa-based family loyal to the Tokugawa, whose fiefs were, successively Isezaki (Közuke – 10,000 koku) in 1601 and Fujii (Echigo – 20,000 koku) in 1615.

#### Inoue Kivomasa (dates?)

Inoue Kiyomasa was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the headquarters unit at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His banner was a black design of birds in a ring

on white.

#### Inoue Masanari (dates?)

The Inoue were a family from Mikawa who served the Tokugawa.

banner: plain black, topped with a small flag with a white 'well-curb' motif as on the li flag great standard: black flag with the white motif sashimono: plain black flag

lesser standard; large red gohei messengers' sashimono; red horo

#### Iriki-in Shigetoki

The Inki-in were prominent and loyal retainers of the Shimazu. The exploits of Shigetoki and his kinsmen are recorded in this book in the essays. An early mon is recorded as 'mistletee', but in the events described here they would probably have fought under the Shimazu badge.

#### Irobe Katsunaga (dates?)

Irobe Katsunaga was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals' and held the rank of gun bugyō. He fought in the headquarters unit at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His banner was a red rising sun on white.

# Ise Nagauii, see Hôiô Sôun

#### Ishida Mitsunari (d. 1600)

Ishuda Mitsunari was one of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's ablest generals who first attracted the attention of his master through his skills at the tea ceremony. He owned the castle of Sawayama, and is now known to history for being the loser at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600.

Unsurprisingly, Mitsunari's heraldry is not recorded in O Ima Jirushi. However, the painted screen of the battle of Sekigahara in the Tokugawa Museum in Nagoya shows his mon of a grouping of ideographs combined in various patterns, which is likely to have been used throughout his force The characters read 'o ich io man o kitsu' ('great one, great myriad, great luck').

His hanner featured the mon on a white flag.

# Ishikawa lenari (Kazumasa) (1534-1609)

A loyal general of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Ienari accompanied him throughout his campaigns.

#### Ishikawa Yasumichi (1554-1607)

Son of Ienari, he received the fiel of Naruto (Közuke - 20,000 koku) in 1590. After Sekigahara he received the fiel of Ögaki (Mino - 50,000 koku).

#### Ishikawa Tadafusa (1572-1650)

The son of Ōkubo Tadachika, he was adopted as heir by Ishikawa Yasumichi. After the Ōsaka campaigns he received Hida (Bungo – 60,000 koku).

banner: three white roundels on green messengers' sashimono: long flag, the upper section being a gold roundel on green, then

alternate panels of white, green, white, green sashimono: a flag with a gold roundel encircling a gold centre spot on green

#### Itagaki Nobutaka (+1548)

Itagaki Nobukata was one of Takeda Shungen's 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He distinguished himself at the Battle of Uedahara in 1548, during which he was killed fighting. His troops used a flag of a yellow crescent moon on black.

# Itakura Katsushige (1542-1624) After spending the first forty years of his life as a

Buddhist priest, Katsushige entered the service of Tokugawa Jeyasu. Following the battle of Sekigahara he received the fief of Iga, with 40,000 koku.

#### Itakura Shigemune (1587-1656)

The elder son of Katsushige, Shigemune continued to serve the Tokugawa.

banner: red upper part, with three black tomoe on the lower, white part. standard: red three-dimensional device with

black horsehair plume

#### Itakura Shigemasa (1588-1638)

The younger brother of Shigemune, Shigemasa was commissioned to put down the Shimabara rebellion in 1638. He personally led an attack on Hara castle and was killed by an arrow.

standard: red gourd great standard: two feather balls

sashimono: white horo

lesser standard: tall black 'feather duster'(!) messengers' sashimono: black horō

# Itami Yasukatsu (1571-1649)

A daimyō who served Tokugawa leyasu, Yasukatsu commanded Kōfu castle (Kai) from 1632, with a revenue of 12,000 koku.

#### Itō Suketaka (1541-1600)

When his father was defeated in Kyūshū by the Shimazu, Itô Suketaka joined him in a move to Kyūto. He took part in the invasion of Kyūshū under Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who rewarded him with the castle of Obi (Hyūga - 50,000 koku). He then served in Korea.

#### Itō Sukevoshi (1588-1636)

The son of Suketaka, Sukeyoshi fought at Sekiga hara at the age of twelve! He then returned to Kyūshū and joined Katō Kiyomasa's campaigns against the Shimazu.

banner: white stars on black

#### Iwaki Tsunetaka (1566-90)

Defeated by Date Masamune in 1585, and by Satake Yoshishige in 1587, Iwaki Tsunetaka submitted to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

#### Iwaki Sadataka (1584-1621)

A son of Satake Yoshishige, Sadataka was adopted by the above. He chose to oppose Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1600 and lost his fief as a result.

The Iwaki mon was a circle between two stripes.

### Kakizaki Kageie (dates?)

Kakizaki Kageie was an important retainer of the Uesugi, and was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He led the vanguard during the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His uma-jirushi was a gold grasshopper on a dark blue flag, while his troops used a sashimono with the design of a giant radish in white on red.

#### Kamei Korenori (1567-1612)

Kamel Korenori was originally in the service of the Amako, but following their downfall he submitted to Oda Nobumaga. Toyotomi Hideyoshi granted him the fel of Shikano (imaba - 13,000 koku). He took part in the Kyūshi campaigin and the Korean invasion of 1592. Following the sea battle at Tangpo, a golden fan, presented to Kamel Korenori by Hideyoshi, was captured by the Koreans. He later served Tokugawa Jersaw, who raised his revenues to 43,000 koku.

#### Kamei Masanori (dates?)

The son of Korenori, he received the fief of Tsuwano (Iwami - 43,000 koku) in 1619.

- sashimono: long white flag with serrated edges great standard: two white fukinuki, one above the other
- messengers' sashimono: black horo

#### Kamiizumi Nobutsuna (dates?)

Ramilzumi Hidetsuna (his original name) was kamilzumi Hidetsuna (his original name) was kom abari 1:20 as thoso of Kamilzumi Hidetsun for the Ussugi against the Takake, he fought for the Ussugi against the Takade, and distinguished himself in particular at the siege of Minowa in 1535. Takeda Shingen admired this brave opponent and allowed Hidetsuna to change his name to Nobutsuna, 'Nobu' being one of the characters in Shingen's own given name Harunobu. However, he declined the offer of service to Shingen. Nobutsuna later went on a celebrated warror pilgirimage.

#### Kamiizumi Yasutsuna (d. 1600)

This descendant of the famous swordsman fought at the siege of Hasedo in 1600.

#### Kamiya Södan (1551-1635)

Södan was a samurai from Hakata who travelled in China and the Philippines. He took charge of the construction of the castle at Nagoya which Hideyoshi used as his base for launching the Korean invasion of 1592. He later built the castle of Fukinoka.

#### Kanamori Nagachika (1524-1607)

Nagachika served Nobunaga and defeated Anenokoji Koretsuna in 1585 to take the province of Hida and the castle of Takayama.

#### Kanamori Yoshishige (1559-1616)

Yoshishige was adopted by Nagachika, and served Tokugawa Ieyasu. He distinguished himself at the siege of Ösaka, where he defended the castle of Kishiwada in Izumi province and personally took 208 heads. He was also a noted tea-master.

standard: a gold fan above a white fukinuki messengers' sashimono: a silver gourd(?) shape sashimono: a gold sunburst behind a black hunch of borsehair

lord's helmet: a silver court cap design

# Katagiri Katsumoto (dates?)

Katsumoto was one of the 'Seven Spears' of Shizugatake (1583).

#### Katagiri Takatoshi (dates?)

The son of Katsumoto, Takatoshi served Tokugawa Jeyasu.

sashimono: gold three-dimensional shape great standard: black 'tree' with many small gold flags on the branches

# Katakura Shigetsuna (dates?)

Katakura Shigetsuna was an important retainer of Date Masamune, and fought beside him at the siege of Osaka. His uma-jirushi was a flag with a design of a temple bell.

#### Katakura Kagetsuna (dates?)

Kagetsuna also served the Date.

banner: 'dead leaf' colour with stylised character

#### Kató Kivomasa (1562-1611)

Kato Kiyomasa was one of the most famous warriors in Japanese history. He was the boyhood friend of Toyotomi Hidevoshi, and served the latter for his long life. He was one of the 'Seven

Spears' of Shizugatake (1583). In 1585 he received the fief of half of Higo province (250,000 koku) and the castle of Kumamoto. He jointly led the Korean expedition in 1592, and returned loyally in 1597. His defence of Ulsan castle during a long siege was particularly noteworthy. After Sekigahara, during which campaign he fought in Kyūshū against Tokugawa Ieyasu's



A print by Kuniyoshi from the series Taiheiki Eiyüden showina Keyamura Rokusuke (also known as Hida Masatoshi) fiahtina in Korea. He wields a spear and is surrounded by discarded Chinese weapons, Rokusuke later died by being pulled off a cliff by a Korean courtesan

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rivals there, he received the other half of Higo province. mon: a ring

banner: black and white, bearing the motto of the Nichiren sect 'Namu Myöho Renge Kyö', which also appears on a small white flag sashimono: one serrated edge white flag standard: seven serrated edge white flags

#### Katō Tadahiro (1597-1653)

The son of Kiyomasa, Tadahiro was suspected of a plot against Tokugawa Jemitsu and dispossessed.

# Katō Yoshiaki (1563-1631)

No relation to Kiyomasa, Yoshiaki achieved a name for himself as glorious as the other Kató. He as one of the 'Seven Spears' of Shizugatake in 1583, and commanded the fleet in Korea. He fought for Tokugawa (essua at Sekogahara, and saw his for fise from 100,000 koku (Matsuzaki in Ise) to 200,000 koku (Matsuzaki in Ise).

banner: black cross (or character 'jū') on white messengers' sashimono: black serrated edge flag

sashimono: black serrated edge flag

# Katō Mitsuyasu (1537-95)

Mitsuyasu was no relation to the above. He served Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, from whom he received a flef worth 240,000 koku in Kai province after the Odawara campaign. He died in Korea.

# Katō Sadayasu (1581-1624)

The son of Mitsuyasu, Sadayasu received the castle of Kurono (Mino - 40,000 koku).

#### Kawajiri Hidetaka

This samurai was a general of Oda Nobunaga. All we know of his heraldry is his standard, which was a gold hat-shape slung from a pole.

#### Keyamura Rokusuke (+1593) Keyamura Rokusuke died perhaps the most igno-

minious death in samural history. He was one of the victorious Japanese commanders during the second siege of Chinju in 1593. That night the Japanese high command celebrated in Chinju castle. Keyamura Rokusuke was lured out on to a balcony by a Korean courtesan called Nonkae. Taking him in a passionate embrace, Nonkae allowed herself to topple backwards, taking Rokusuke with her to his death. A shrine to Nonkae stands on the site

#### Kikkawa Motobaru (1530-86)

Kikkawa Motoharu was the second son of Môri Motonari. He was adopted by Kikkawa Okitsune, and distinguished himself in all the wars of the Môri.

# Kikkawa Motonaga (1547-87)

Motonaga served with his father Motoharu, and died shortly after him.



Kimura Shigenari, one of the heroes of the defence of Osaka castle between 1614 and 1615, is shown here as a status on the site of his headquarters during the battle of Wakae where he was killed. His mon appears on the front of his âd. Shighenri is buried hear by. The reproduction of his armour on the status is somewhat crude, but reflects the comparatively simple battledress' that samural would wear in action.

# Kikkawa Tsuneie (+1581)

Tsuneie was the defender of Tottori castle, committing suicide at the end to save his men's lives.

# Kikkawa Hiroie (1561-1625)

Hiroie, the third son of Motoharu, succeeded his brother and ruled from Toda castle (Izumo -200,000 koku). He served in Korea, but in 1600 he sided against Tokugawa Ieyasu and was dispos-

standard: thirteen red slashed edge flags on pole

# Kikkawa Hiromasa (dates?)

The younger brother of Hiroie continued the family name at Iwakuni (Suo - 60,000 koku).

# Kimura Shigekore (dates?)

Shigekore served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and fought at the battle of Yamazaki (1582). He was dispossessed because of suspicion that he was involved in the plot of Hidetsugu, and committed suicide.

# Kimura Shigenari (1594-1615)

Shigenari was the son of Shigekore. He was a leading general in the defence of Osaka castle against the Tokugawa, and was killed during the battle of Wakae in 1615. He is remembered as a great samuran leader, and it was noted that he burned incense inside his helmet before going to war so as to make his severed head a more attractive trophy.

# Kimura Hidetoshi (dates?)

No relation to the above, Hidetoshi served Toyotomi Hideyoshi and received a fief of 300,000 koku at Toyoma in Mutsu after the Odawara campaign. However, the maladministration of him and his son Shigemasa caused them both to be dispossessed within a vear.

#### Kinoshita Iesada (1543-1603)

Iesada served his brother-in-law Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and in 1585 received the fief of Himeji (Harima - 40,000 koku). In 1600 his fief was reduced to 25,000 koku at Ashimori (Bitchü).

#### Kinoshita Katsutoshi (1568-1649)

Son of Iesada, he received Tatsuo (Harima). He accompanied Troytomi Hideyoshi at his headquarters in Nagoya (Kyūshū) during the Korean War, and in 1594 he received the fief of Obama (Wakasa 80,000 koku). In 1600 he chose ishida's side and was dispossessed by the Tokugawa.

# Kinoshita Toshifusa (1573-1637)

The second son of lesada, in 1594 he received the fief of Takahama (Wakasa – 30,000 koku). He was dispossessed in 1600, but in 1615 fought for the Tokugawa at Osaka, and received the fief of Ashimori (Bitchū – 25,000 koku).

# KIMURA SHIGENARI RESCUES A COMRADE IN BATTLE

During the winter campaign of Ösaka, Kimura Shigenari could not allow Oi Nani'emon, a brave general under his command, to die in front of his eyes. Note how the victim's sashimono aids his recognition on the battlefield:

The bore a sashimono of a silver bottle gourd on top of a yellow hord tied by a high cord. A white stankin was carried at his waist, and with a tow ken shafted cross bladed spear carried by his horse's head, he pushed open the third gare. At the sight of a sole horseman rashing out neither Kimura no the enemy recognised who it was. Kimura then came out, and all of a sudden the spectacle came to his eyes. As for Kimura, who was counting the numbers of dead bodies of those killed in battle, and not wishing for Ol Naniemon to join the list. Kimura Nagara no kimir came out to accompany him. He cried out with a loud vision of the size of the rarquebus fire, but while he still had some energy left he heard Kimura's voke. He lifted up his and took Nani'emon in his arms, and trieft to withdraw. The enemy sudders saw this and fired arquebuses at them life to nin." Tiskahasha 1055; 290.

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#### Kinoshita Nobutoshi (1577-1642)

The third son of lesada, Nobutoshi chose to side with Tokugawa leyasu in 1600 and captured the castle of Fukuchiyama (Tamba province) from Onoki Shigetoshi. His reward was the fief of Hip (Bungo - 25,000 koku).

#### Kitabatake Tomonori (1528-76)

A daimyō of Ise province, Tomonori was defeated by Oda Nobunaga, who forced Kitabatake to adopt his son Oda Nobuo as his heir. In 1576 Tomonori was assassinated by his own samurai

# Kitabatake Nobuoki (dates?)

Nobuoki refused to accept Oda Nobuo as heir, and . war broke out. Nobuoki was taken and exiled.

#### Kobayakawa Takakage (1532-96)

The third son of Mori Motonari, Takakage was adopted by the Kobayakawa, and served in all the Mori wars, including Miyajima (1555). Toyotomi Hib Mori wars, including Miyajima (1555). Toyotomi Hib Mori wars, including Miyajima (1555). Toyotomi Hib Markage served valiantily in the Korean invasion of 1592. He defeated a Chinese army at Byöckelewan (1593), but was driven from Chol Iado province by guerrilla raids. He adopted Hideaki as his heir.

banner: red with Möri mon in white His mon was a triple tomoe.

# Kobayakawa Hideaki (1577-1602)

Hideak was appointed commander-in-chief of the second Korean invasion at the age of only beenty, during which he quarrelled sectously with Ishida Mitsunari. This had important repercussions in 1600 when Kobayakawa Hideaki diserted Ishida's army at a crucial point in the battle of Sekigahara. It was his defection that gave the day to Tokugawa leyasu. His reward was a \$20,000 koku fief in Bizen and Mimasaka.

His mon was crossed sickles.

### Kobori Masakazu (1579-1647) Masakazu served Tokugawa Jeyasu and received

the fief of Komuro ( $\bar{O}mi$  - 10,000 koku) in 1600. He was a great patron of the arts.

# Koide Masahide (1539-1604)

Masahide married the sister of Toyotomi

Hideyoshi's wife, and as a result of this family connection he received the fief of Kishiwada (Izumi – 60,000 koku). During the Sekigahara campaign Masahide was ill, and sent his son Yoshimasa to fight for the Western Army.

#### Koide Yoshimasa (1565-1613)

Yoshimasa fought at Sekigahara for Ishida Mitsunari, and succeeded his father in 1604.

#### Koide Yoshihide (1586-1668)

The sons of Koide Yoshimasa, Yoshihide and Yoshichika, submitted to Tokugawa Ieyasu and fought at Osaka. Yoshihide owned the fief of Fushi (Tamba - 45.000 koku).

messengers' sashimono: three black feather plumes

sashimono: red disc on white

### Koide Yoshichika (dates?)

Yoshichika was the younger son of Yoshimasa. banner: black kanji character 'ko' inside a ring

sashimono: ten small gold flags on a pole

#### Konishi Yukinaga (+1600)

Konishi Yukinaga entered the service of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1577. After the Kyūshū



Konishi Yukinaga leads a charge of Japanese samurai against a Korean army in 1592. Yukinaga's banner bears a Japanese character within a lozenge. (See also pages 17 and 93) expedition Yukinaga received half of Higo province in file, with a revenue of 240,000 ke/u, and based himself at Udo castle. He commanded half of the vanquard army that landed in Korea in 1592, and distinguished himself at the siege of Tongane. Visingas's division advanced as far as Pyongyang, from where he was eventually requised by a Chinese army and forced back to Seoul. He took part in the peace negotiations, or 1597. In 1600 to see the second fivesion of 1597. In 1600 to see the peace of the leyasu and was beheaded after the battle of Sekisahara.

standard: red disc on white cone with white

#### Kôno Michinao (+1587)

Köno Michinao was a descendant of the famous Köno Michian who fought against the Mongol invaders in 1274. In 1568 he was attacked by Utsunomiya Toyotsuna and asked for help from Michi Motonari, whose followers reinstated him in his domains. In 1580 he was again defeated, this time by Chisokabe Motochaka, and fled.

# Koriki Kiyonaga (1530-1608)

Koriki was the companion in arms of Tokugawa Jeyasu. In 1590 he received the fiel of Iwatsuki (Musashi - 20,000 koku).

#### Koriki Tadafusa (1583-1655)

white disc

The son of Kiyonaga, Tadafusa fought at Sekigahara and Ösaka. In 1619 he received the fief of Hamamatsu (Tötömi) and in 1638 Shimabara (Hizen - 40.000 koku).

banner: black with a white disc, and a small red flag with a white disc.

lesser standard: six small black flags messengers' sashimono: black horo with a

great standard: two curved black feather plumes

sashimono: white disc on a black flag

#### Kösaka Danjö Masanobu (d. 1578)

Kôsaka Masanobu was one of the staunchest retainers of the Takeda, and is largely responsible for compiling the Kôyô Gunkan. He played a distinguished role in the fourth battle of Kawanakajima. He was not present at the battle of Nagashino and was thus spared that humiliating defeat.

His heraldry was a black star arrangement on yellow.

#### Koteda Yasumasa (Jeronimo) (+1551)

The Koteda were retainers of the Matsuura family, and ruled much of the tiny island of Ikitsuki. Yasumasa took part in the siege of limori castle in 1542, and in 1550 became one of Japan's first Christian converts.

### Koteda Yasutsune (Antonio) (+1581)

Christianity flourished on lkitsuki under Koteda zule until the death of Koteda Yasutsune. In 1572 Yasutsune fought for the Matsuura against the Sö family.

# Koteda Sakae (Jeronimo) (+1614) The son of Don Antonio, Koteda Sakae accompa-

nied Matsuura Shigenobu to Korea in 1592. In the attack in Tongane Koteda Sakea personally took the head of the Korean commander Sông Sang-hyön. He returned to Korea in 1597 with the Matsuura. The family were exiled to Nagasaki in 1599 when they refused to attend the funeral of Matsuura Takanobu on the grounds that they were Christians. Sakea died in Nagasaki in 1614. The Koteda family would have fought under the Shimazu flag.

# Kuchiki Tanetsuna (+1550)

Kuchiki Tanetsuna received the shogun Yoshiharu when the latter fled in 1528. He later died in battle.

# Kuchiki Mototsuna (1549-1632) The grandson of Tanetsuna, Mototsuna fought

against the Asai in 1570, and later sided with Tokugawa leyasu at the time of Sekigahara. He fought at Osaka, and had a revenue of 12,000 koku.

#### Kuki Yoshitaka (1542-1600)

Kuki Yoshitaka fought for Nobunaga against the likkö-likki particularly in the role of admiral of the Oda fleet. It was Yoshitaka who commanded the so-called 'iron ships' in the battle of Kisogawaguchi in 1578. In 1592 he commanded the fleet that inwaded Korea. In 1600 he sided with Ishida Mitsunari, and when defeated he committed suicide.

standard: three balls gold, white, gold banner: black with 'a ra ha' in gold hiragana characters

# Kuki Moritaka (dates?)

Moritaka was the son of Yoshitaka, and joined Tokugawa leyasu when his father supported Ishida. As a result he was confirmed in his fief, which increased from 26,000 koku to 46,000 koku.

banner: seven white stars on red above black,

with a little white flag

#### Kumazawa Ryōkai Banzan (1619-91)

Kumazawa Banzan was a samurai of the Ikeda, and became one of the leading exponents of the theories behind bushido.

#### Kuroda Jösui Yoshitaka (1546-1604)

In 1569 Yoshitaka defeated the troops of Akamatsu, who had come to besiege Himpi castle. He later led Toyotom! Hideyosh!'s vanguard in the Chigoku campaign. He also served in the Shikoku and Kyishih conquests, and received the fiel of six districts of Buzen province (120,000 koku). He attended the young Kobayskawa Hideaki in Korea. During the time of Sekigahara he fought in Kyishih, helping to capture the castles of Usuki, Yanazawa and Kurume.

banner: black-white-black, with the white Kuroda mon on the upper third. The design is of wisteria flowers arranged in the shape of a triple 'tomoe'

standard: a ball of white feathers (?)

sashimono: a blue flag with two black stripes in the middle

### Kuroda Nagamasa (1568-1623)

The son of Yoshitaka, Nagamasa served in Kyūshū and Korea, then fought for Tokugawa Ieyasu at Sekigahara. In reward he exchanged Nakatsu (Buzen – 120,000 koku) for Najima (Chikuzen – 520,000 koku), where he built a castle and named it Fukuoka He also fotieth at Čisaka.

# Kuroda Tadayuki (dates?)

Tadayuki was the son and heir of Nagamasa.

By this time, the Kuroda had acquired a great stan-

dard and a lesser standard. O Uma Jirushi shows his heraldry as slightly different from that of his grandfather

banner: the Kuroda mon in black on green

lord's helmet: a black helmet great standard: white fukinuki

lesser standard: fourteen gold flags
Other authorities show the Kuroda making use
of the pun of their name for beraldry. Kuroda
means 'black field', and an alternative mon is of a
black disc on white. This was certainly used on the

sails of their ships during the Korean invasion, and probably on the sashimono too.

Kurosaka Kagenori (d. 1570)

This retainer of the Asakura was killed at

Anegawa. standard: a red sun's disc on a large white

nobori

#### Kurushima Michifusa (1562-1597)

A native of Shikoku, Kurushima fought the Chōsokabe, and submitted to Toyotom Hideyoshi in 1585. He was then confirmed in his fiel of Kurushima (Iyo 14,000 koku). During the Korean invasion he was an admiral of the fleet. He was killed during the battle of Myongyang in 1597.

#### Kurushima Michiyuki (+1592) Michiyuki, brother of Michifusa, was also an

admiral during the Korean invasion of 1592, and was killed during the battle of Tangpo.

# Kurushima Michichika (1580-1611)

The son of Michifusa, Michichika was transferred in 1601 to Mori (Bungo - 12,500 koku). hanner: black hand on white

standard: black sausage shape with gold tassels

# Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336)

The paragon of loyalty to the emperor, Masashige conducted the defences of Akasaka and Chihaya, and was defeated at Minatogawa (1336).

# Kusunoki Masatsura (1326-48)

Entrusted with the imperial cause from his father Masashige, Masatsura was killed at Shijō Nawate (1348). Kusunoki Masanori (+1390) Masanori continued to support the southern

Masanori continued to support the southern imperial cause after the death of his father Masashige and brother Masatsura.

# Kusunoki Masakatsu (dates?) Even after the settlement of the Nanhokuchó

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wars in 1392, Masakatsu, son of Masanori, continued an armed struggle against the Ashikaga. He was finally defeated in 1399.

# Kusunoki Masamoto (+1402)

Masamoto was the brother of Masakatsu and plotted to assassinate the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, but was found out and executed in 1402.

#### Kusunoki Mitsumasa (dates?)

This descendant of Masanori attempted in 1429 to reopen the southern imperial claim by assassinating the shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441), but he was arrested and beheaded.

#### Kusunoki Masahide (dates?)

In the final attempt to restore the southern dynasty, Masahide stole the imperial regalia in 1443 and fled with the southern claimant to the Yoshino mountains, where they held out on the site of the Ryūsenji temple in Kotochi until 1457.

#### Kuwayama Shigeharu (1524-1606)

Kuwayama Shigeharu served Toyotomi Hideyoshi and in 1585 received the fief of Wakayama (Kii -30.000 koku).

#### Kuwayama Kazunao (dates?)

Kazunao was the elder son of Shigeharu, and received the fief of Shinjō (Yamato - 16,000 koku) in 1600.

banner: three black discs on white standard: ten small black flags on a pole

#### Kuwayama Motoharu (dates?)

The younger son of Shigeharu, Motoharu received the fief of Gose (Yamato ~ 26,000 koku) in 1600. hanner: black and white

standard: a silver two-dimensional cross of lacquered wood

sashimono: two-dimensional gold antlers

### Kyōgoku Takatsugu (1560-1609)

Kyōgoku Takatsugu was forced by Oda Nobunaga to marry his own niece, who was the sister of Toyotom! Hideyoshi's wife. This family connection later earned for him the fiel of Osus (0m - 60,000 koku). In 1600, supporting the Tokugawa, be was besieged in his castle by Tachibana Muneshige and Tsukushi Hirokado. He negotiated a settlement, and fled to the monastery of Koyasan. In spite of this capitulation, Tokugawa kyang paraled him the fled O'Donam (Wakasa-

# Kyögoku Tadataka (1593-1637)

Tadataka was the son of Takatsugu, and married a daughter of the shogun Tokugawa Hidetada in 1607. At the siege of Osaka he took 300 heads of the enemy, in 1634 he received the fiel of Matsue (Izumo – 260 000 kg/kl)

banner: red with one Kyögoku mon, being a set of four black open squares, in white standard: two white umbrella-like devices sashimono: white mon on red

#### Kyögoku Takakazu (dates?)

Takakazu was appointed heir of his uncle Tadataka in 1637, and received the fief of Tatsuno (Harima - 50.000 koku).

# banner: two Kyōgoku mon on red

ashigaru: two small red flags with black mon lesser standard: two balls of white feathers (?) messengers' sashimono: red and black stripes great standard: red fukinuki with black mon sashimono: red flag with black mon

#### Kyōgoku Takatomo (1571-1621)

Takamoto was the younger brother of Takatsugu. He served Toyotom Hideyoshi and in 159 che received the fiel of Iida (Shinano - 80,000 koku). At the time of Sekigahara he besieged the castle of Gifu on behalf of Tokugawa leyasu. He then received the fiel of Tanabe (Tango - 125,000 koku), and served in both Osaka camaaians.

### Kyōgoku Takahiro (1599-1677)

Takahiro was the adopted son of Takamoto and the cousin of Tadataka, of the Junior branch of the family.

banner: a white open square on black

standard: two black balls of feathers sashimono (not illustrated): a white flag

#### Maeha Shinhachirō (d. 1570)

This general of the Asakura was killed at Anegawa along with his son Shintaro.

standard: a gold fukinuki with two black bands banner: 'dead leaf' colour with two lozenges in white, and a small red flag with two white discs

#### Maeda Toshiie (1538-99)

Maeda Toshiie served Oda Nobunaga. He Fought at Anegawa (1570), and after the destruction of the Asakura received the fiel of Fuchu (Echizen - 33,000 koku), in 1581 he obtained the province of Noto, and then Kaga in 1583. He fought against the Holjó in 1590 for Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He cardid out administrative duties at Nagoya during the Korean invasion.

standard: gold 'fu' character above red feather hall

banner: white with three Maeda mon in black
He is also associated with a standard of a white
flag with a painting of Shoki, the quelier of
demons, although this may have been used by one
of his retainers.

#### Maeda Toshinaga (1562-1614)

On Toshike's death the fielf was split up between his sons. The delects son of Toshike, Toshinaga fought Uesugi Kagekatsu during the Sekigahara campaign, and after Sekigahara for received the fiel (Noto - 25,000 koku) of his brother Toshimasa, who had 550ed with the Ishika cause. He also adopted another brother as his heir. This made Toshimasa, the wealthest daminy of at any time under the Tokugawa regime. He owned 1,250,000 koku, and bull the castle of Kanazawa.

# Maeda Toshitsune (1593-1658) Toshitsune was adopted as heir by his brother

Toshinaga, who died childless. He fought at Ōsaka against Ōno Harufusa. banner: plain white with a small black and

white flag great standard: two white three-dimensional

lesser standard: black feather plume

sashimono: stiffened rectangular shape in gold

# Maeda Toshitaka (dates?)

Toshitaka was the fifth son of Toshiie, and founded the jumor branch of the family. He fought at Osaka and in 1616 he received the fiel of Nanukaichi (Közuke - 10.000 koku).

banner: white Maeda mon on green, with a small green flag and two white mon sashimono: white open lozenge on green standard: black umbrella with gold trimmings lord's helmet: black catfish tail with gold badge

### Maeda Gen-I Munehisa (1539-1602)

Maeda Gen-I was no relation to the Maeda of Kanazawa. He was originally a Buddhist priest on Mount Hiei, and served Oda Nobunaga. Toyotomi Hideyoshi gave him the fief of Takamai (Tamba - 50,000 koku).

#### Makara Jurôzaemon (d. 1570)

Makara was a hero of the battle of Anegawa. banner: blue and white personal sashimono: a cut-out design

representing a gong in blue on red

# Makino Yasunari (1555-1609) Yasunari served the Tokugawa.

# Makino Tadanari (dates?)

Makino Tadanari was the son of Yasunari. He fought at Ösaka. banner: an unusual square design, with three

obtainer an unusual square testings, with three white leaves like a propeller on red, with a small white flag, again with the leaf mon great standard: a tall black feather plume sashimonor: a gold ladder on black ashigaru: a small flag with a gold ladder on black

messengers' sashimono: a white ladder on red

# Makino Narisato (dates?)

No relation of the above, Narisato fought at Shimabara, where his standard was a lacquered silver board with 'I ro ha ...' (the Japanese equivalent of A.R.C) in black ink.

# Masuda Nagamori (1545-1615)

Masuda Nagamori served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and was chosen in 1594 to be one of the five bugyō with the fief of Koriyama (Yamato - 200,000 koku). He 56

supported Ishida Mitsunari at the time of Sekigahara and was banished to Köyasan. At the time of Ösaka he was invited to commit suicide, but escaped.

# Masuda Moritsugu (dates?)

Moritsugu was the son of Nagamori and fought against the Tokugawa at Ósaka.

# Matsudaira (Yūki) Hidevasu (1574-1607)

Hideyasu was the second son of Tokugawa leyasu. He was brought up by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and fought during the Kyushū campaign. In 1590 he was adopted by Yūki Harumoto. From then on he was known as Yūki Hideyasu and received the fiel of Yuki (100,000 koku). He fought at Sekigahara, and received the fiel of Klita-noshi (Echizen – 670,000 koku). His sons formed the branch of the Mattudaira, of Echizen

#### Matsudaira (Yūki) Tadanao (1595-1650)

Tadanao was the eldest son of Matsudaira Hideyasu. On succeeding to his inheritance, he changed his name to Matsudaira and passed the name Yuki to his brother Naomoto. He was late in arriving for the siege of Osaka, which displeased his grandfather, but Tadanao redeemed himself by his fighting asquist Sanada Yukimura.

banner: white with a "Y" shaped motif in black messengers' sashimono: plain gold flag sashimono: gold "Y" design on black great standard; red sun's disc on white

great standard: red sun's disc on white lesser standard: white shape, with white flag

# Matsudaira (Yūki) Tadamasa (1597-1645)

Tadamasa was the second son of Hideyasu. He fought in the summer campaign of Osaka and took 57 heads. He received the fief of Kawanakajima (Shinano - 150.000 koku).

banner: black and white with a tomoe design standard: three gold umbrellas and a gohei sashimono: ten small black and white flags messengers' sashimono: black and white striped horo

lord's helmet: silver court cap style with a tomoe frontlet

#### Matsudaira (Yūki) Naomasa (1601-66) The third son of Hidevasu.

banner: white disc on black

lesser standard: black plume great standard: white disc on black sashimono: white disc on black

### Matsudaira Naomoto (1604-48)

Naomoto was the fourth son of Matsudaira Hideyasu. In 1624 he received the fief of Katsuyama (Echizen - 30.000 koku).

banner: black and white great standard: white ring on a red flag lesser standard: gold three-dimensional double

sashimono: black and white

cone

# Matsudaira (Fujii) Nobukazu (1548-1632) Nobukazu fought at Anegawa. In 1601 he received the fief of Tsuchiura (Hitachi - 30,000 koku). At Aneawa his standard was a white flag with

Matsudaira [Fujii] Tadakuni (1597-1659) The son of Nobukazu, Tadakuni served during the

summer campaign of Ösaka. standard: gold ring on black

red fans and a red hand.

lesser standard: white nine stars mon on red

Matsudaira (Hisamatsu) Sadakatsu (1560-1624) Sadakatsu was the uterine brother of Tokugawa leyasu, and resided successively at Kakegawa, Kuwana and Nagashima. Standard white gourd

sashimono: white nine stars mon on black

Matsudaira (Hisamatsu) Sadatsuna (1592-1651) He was the son of Matsudaira Sadakatsu. He fought at Osaka and received the fiel of Shimotsuma (Histahi = 30,000 kolsu).

Heraldry as for his father.

# Matsudaira (Katahara) letada (1547-82) letada took part in all of Tokugawa leyasu's

campaigns, including the battle of Anegawa (1570).

Matsudaira (Katahara) lenobu (1569-1638) lenobu was the son of letada.

#### Matsudaira (Katahara) Yasunobu (1600-82) Yasunobu was the son of Jenobu.

banner: black and white, with ideograph in black, and a similar little flag. See illustration) great standard: black and white fukinuki messengers' sashimono: three small red flags sashimono: ideograph in black on a white disc on red

ashigaru: two flags, each the ideograph in black on a white disc on red, between black bands

Matsudaira (Fukamizu) Koretada (1537-75) Koretada fought at Anegawa. He used the Tokugawa mon in his heraldry in a modified form.

#### Matsudaira (Ochi) Kiyotake Kiyotake was the brother of the shogun Jenobu

(1662-1706).
banner: black disc on red
great standard: gold cylinder with fringes
sashimono: black disc on red
ashigaru: black disc on small red flag

Matsudaira (Okochi) Masatsuna (1576-1648) The family name was Okochi until Masatsuna was adopted into the Matsudaira family. In 1604 he received the fief of Izu (20,000 koku).

Matsudaira (Okochi) Nobutsuna (1596–1662) The son of Masatsuna, Nobutsuna received the flef of Oshi (Musashi – 60,000 koolu In 1633. In 1638 he succeeded Itakura Shigemasa in command of the forces besieging Hara castle during the Shimahara rebellion, and was responsible for the rebels' defeat.

banner: black ladder design on white

Matsudaira (Nomi) Shigekatsu (1548-1620)
Shigekatsu fought at Anegawa. In 1612 he received

Saniō (Echigo - 20,000 koku).

# Matsudaira (Okudaira) Tadaaki (1583-1644)

Tadaak was the fourth son of Okudaira Nobumasa, the hero of Nagashino (1575). He was adopted by his grandfather, Tokugawa Jeyasu, and received the name of Matsudaira. His fiel was Kameyama (See 5,0000 koku) in 1610, and in 1615 he took over Osaka (Settsu - 100,000 koku). In 1619 he owned Kortyama (Yamato - 120,000 koku) and in 1639 Himeij (Hartima - 180,000 koku). banner edd lozenge on dark blue

great standard: black feather balls and a plume

lesser standard: two white umbrellas messengers' sashimono: gold lozenge on a black horō

sashimono: gold lozenge on black

# Matsudaira (Ogasawara) Shigenao (dates?)

Shigenao was the son of Ogasawara Hidemasa, and fought during the Shimabara campaign.

banner: red, white, red bands.

messengers' sashimono: plain black flag standard: black 'wreath' with white plume above

sashimono: six white flags

# Matsudaira (Sakakibara) Tadatsugu (dates?)

Tadatsugu was the grandson of Sakakibara Yasumasa, and on inheriting the fief in 1615 he took the name of Matsudaira.

banner: white nine stars mon on red messengers' sashimono: horô of red and white bands

lesser standard: gold umbrella-shaped rain hat sashimono: gold disc on red great standard: white nine stars on red ashigaru: three white discs on three red flags

# Matsudaira Iwami no kami (dates?) This retainer of Tokugawa Hidetada was permitted to use the Matsudaira name

o use the Matsudaira name. banner: white, black, white with a red sun's disc in the upper third

standard: gold device of a paulownia ashigaru: two white flags with red disc

# Matsudaira Katsuharu (dates?)

Matsudaira Katsuharu was the keeper of Takada castle in Echigo province.

standard: a white fukinuki messengers' sashimono: black horo great standard: seven white devices of

paulownia sashimono: gold diagonal stripe on red messengers' sashimono: seven golden

sunbursts on a pole

Matsudaira Masatsuna (dates?)

Matsudaira Masatsuna (dates?)
Masatsuna was a chief retainer of Tokugawa leyasu,
and was allowed to use the name Matsudaira.
banner: red above white, divided diagonally

great standard: gold diamond on red sashimono: red above white ashigaru: two small versions of the sashimono

Matsudaira (Tokugawa) Tadayoshi (1580–1607)
The fourth son Jensen keyasu, Tadayoshi was first adopted by Matsudaira letada. In 1592 he received the fiel of the castle of Oshi (Mausahi –100,000 koku). He took part in the battle of Sekisabira of the field of the castle of Sekisabira when the opposed Shimazu Yoshimazu (Yoshimazu Yoshimazu Yoshimazu (Yoshimazu Yoshimazu Yoshima

banner: red design on white, of disc within a

great standard: red fukinuki lesser standard: gold umbrella messengers' sashimono: as banner

sashimono: as banner ashiganı: white banner

#### Matsudaira (Matsui) Yasuchika (1521-83)

Matsuidarra (Matsui) Yasuchika (1521-83) Matsui Yasuchika served in many campaigns for Tokugawa leyasu, who authorised him to use the name Matsudaira. He received a fief in Suruga (20,000 kbu)

#### Matsudaira (Matsui) Yasushige (1568-1640) Yasushige was the son of Yasuchika, with fiefs as follows: 1590, Yorii (Musashi - 20,000 koku): 1601.

Kasama (Hitachi - 30,000 koku); 1608, Yamaki (Tamba - 50,000 koku). banner: black and white, alternating twelve

bands bottom to top sashimono: black and white, as hanner

# Matsudaira Mitsuyuki (dates?)

This samural fought at Shimabara (1638). banner: black, white, black in thirds iesser standard: gold horns greater standard: white tasselled ring sashtimon: four white and one black flag messengers' sashimono: small white horò-like oblect

# Matsukura Shigemasa (1574-1630)

Having served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Shigemasa received the fief of Gojō (Yamato - 25,000 koku) in 1600, and then that of Shimabara (Hizen - 60,000 koku) banner: black bands on red (see illustration) standard: two gold umbrellas

#### Matsukura Shigeharu (d. 1638)

The son of Shigemasa, Shigeharu inherited his father's fief, where his tyranny led to the Shimabara rebellion. Once the rebellion had been put down, Shigeharu was invited to commit hara-kiri

For heraldry see above.

#### Matsumae Yoshihiro (1550-1618)

The Matsumae were the daimyō of Japan's northern island Hokkaidō. The family were descended from the Takeda. Yoshihiro was originally called Kakizaki Yoshihiro, and submitted to Toyotomi Hidevoshi in 1587.

#### Matsumoto Kageshige (dates?)

Matsumoto Kageshige was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the third rank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His banner was a black and white flag with a

# Matsunaga Hisahide (1510-77)

geometrical design on the white section.

Matsunaga Hisahide allied himself with Miyoshi Chökei and became governor of Kvóto in 1529. In 1563 he poisoned the son of Miyoshi Chôkei. The shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru refused to grant him the favours he sought, so he invested the shogun's palace, during which the latter killed himself. Soon after he was at war with Miyoshi Yoshitsugu, the late Chökei's heir, but in 1568 was required to submit to Oda Nobunaga. In 1577 he again revolted and Oda Nobunaga's son Nobutada and Tsutsui Junkei besieged him in his castle of Shikizan. The castle was burned and Hisahide committed suicide. Matsunaga Hisahide was a noted tea-master, and the scene of him smashing a priceless tea-howl so that it would not fall into the hands of his enemies is a favourite subject found in Japanese prints.

#### Matsunaga Kojirō (d. 1577)

Kojirō was the son of Hisahide, and at the fall of Shikizan castle committed suicide by thrusting his sword through his throat and leaping off the wall with his father's severed head in his hand



This dramatic print shows the paradox in samural culture of the delicate balance between the appreciation of the aethetic and the bloody business of worfare. It depicts Matsunaga Hisahide smashing the priceless inferion tea kettic called Hirogunor prior to committing suicide after the fall of his castle of Shiktan to Oda Nobunaga in 1577. Utersils for the tea ceremony were greathy prized and as valued for gifts as any fine sword. Hisahide has prepared himself for hare kirt. His abdomen is revealed, and the tantol (dagger) with which he will make the fatal incision lies before him warned in a symbolic white cloth in

#### Matsuno Hirochika (dates?)

Matsuno Hirochika was a retainer of the Date family and followed Date Hirdemune to Uwajifamily and followed Date Hirdemune to Twajifamily and followed Date Hirdemune to Twajifamily diversifamily div

1615 when Matsuno decapitated a young enemy in battle. The head was interred, and as an earnest of his intentions to pray for the entry of the dead man into paradise, Matsuno had the flag made.

# Matsushita Yoshitsuna (1537-98)

Yoshitsuna was the son of Yukitsuna, who was Toyotomi Hideyoshi's first master. When Hideyoshi rached a position of pre-eminence, he extended to the family the favours he had received from Yukitsuna. Yoshitsuna received the fiel of Kuno (Tätämi 10 1000 koku).

#### Matsushita Shigetsuna (1580-1628)

Matsushita Shigetsuna held the fief of Nihonmatsu (Mutsu - 30,000 koku).

- banner: gold cross on dark blue, corners to corners diagonally
- sashimono: as banner standard: gold cylindrical shape with the cross
- on blue design at each end
- messengers' sashimono: white flag with 'ragged' edge

# Matsuura Takanobu (1529-99)

The Matsuura were the daimyō of Hirado island. Takanobu fought several battles against rivals during the Sengoku Period, and retired in favour of his son Shigenobu in 1541.

#### Matsuura Shigenobu (1549-1614)

Shigenobu fought against the Shimazu in the Kyūshū campaign of Toyotom Hideyoshi in 1587. He later served in both invasions of Korea in the division of Konishi Yukinaga, fighting at Pusan, Tongnae, Pyong-yang etc. He particularly distinguished himself when he led the attack in the siege of Namwön (1597).

For heraldry see Samurai Warfare

# Matsuura Hisanohu (1571-1602)

Hisanobu fought in Korea with his father Shigenobu.

# Matsuura Takanohu II (1591-1637)

Takanobu II inherited the Hirado fief from his father Hisanobu, who lived only one year as daimyō.

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#### Meniu letora (dates?)

letora was a retainer of Shibata Katsuie. When the latter's golden gohei standard was captured, he led a charge into the enemy lines to regain it, but was killed fighting.

# Minagawa Hiroteru (+1625)

#### Minagawa Hiroteru (+1625)

Hiroteru first fought for the Höjö at Odawara, and on submitting to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, received a fief of 30,000 koku at Minagawa (Shimotsuke).

# Minagawa Takatsune (dates?) Takatsune was the son of Hirotenia

# Minamoto Vorimitsu (944-1021)

Yorimitsu is one of the first Minamoto to become famous for his military exploits. He is associated with the quelling of the bandits of Ōevama.

# Minamoto Yoriyoshi (995-1082)

Yoriyoshi fought against the Abe during the Early Nine Years' War

# Minamoto Yoshiie (1041-1108)

The oldest son of Yoriyoshi, Yoshiie fought with him in all his campaigns. Yoshiie, known as Hachimantarō, also conducted the Later Three Years' War.

#### Minamoto Tamevoshi (1096-1156)

Tameyoshi was the grandson of Yoshile. He sided with the ex-emperor Sutoku during the Hogen Incident and was put to death.

# Minamoto Yorimasa (1106-80)

A noted poet, Yorimasa was defeated at the first battle of Uji (1180) and committed a celebrated act of hara-kiri.

#### Minamoto Yoshitomo (1123-60) Yoshitomo was the son of Tameyoshi, and

captured the ex-emperor Go-Shirakawa at the Sanjō Palace in 1160, but was defeated in the counter-attack and later murdered.

# Minamoto Tametomo (1139-70)

This brother of Yoshitomo was of herculean strength and a skilled archer. He fought during the Högen Incident.

# Minamoto Yukiie (+1186)

Yukiie was the brother of Yoshitomo, and fought several engagements alongside Kiso Yoshinaka.

# Minamoto Yoshihira (1140-60)

The son of Yoshitomo who fought with him during the Heiji Incident.

#### Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-99)

The first Minamoto shogun, Yoritomo was the son of Yoshimoto. His military career began disastrously with his defeat at Ishibashiyama (1180), but his career prospered owing to the battlefield successes of his brothers and cousin.

#### Minamoto Norivori (1156-93)

The brother of Yoritomo, Noriyori won the battle of Kojima (1184).

#### Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159-89)

One of the most famous samurai of all times, Yoshitsune, the brother of Yoritomo, won victories at Ichinotani, Yashima and Dan no Ura. He was then exiled by Yoritomo and hounded to his death at Koromogawa.

# Minamoto (Kiso) Yoshinaka (1154-84)

Cousin of Yoritomo, Yoshinaka defeated the Taira at Kurikara (1183) and entered Kyöto, but behaved so outrageously that his cousins were obliged to defeat him at the second battle of Uji (1184). He was then killed at Awazu.

# Minamoto Yoriie (1182-1204) The second Minamoto shorun. Yoriie was assassi-

nated.
Minamoto Sanetomo (1192-1219)

# Minamoto Sanetomo (1192-1219) Third and last Minamoto shogun, Sanetomo was

assassinated in Kamakura.

# Miura Dösun Yoshiatsu (+1516)

Miura Yoshiatsu committed suicide when he was besieged at Arai by Hōjō Sōun.

# Miura Yoshimoto

Little is known of this samurai, the son of Yoshiatsu, who was the last of a long line to bear the name of Miura, except to note that he was

The remarkable suicide of Miura Yoshimoto, who is supposed to have cut off his own head when his castle of Arai fell to the Hôiô in 1518. The text actually describes him doing it from horseback. Other details of weaponry noted in this picture include Yoshimoto's enormous studded wooden club and two curved bladed naginata, (From a woodblock printed edition of the Hōiō Godaiki)



defeated by Höjö Söun at the battle of Arai in 1518, and committed suicide by cutting his own head off!

# Miyabe Tsugimasu (1528-99)

Tsugimasu was originally a monk from Mount Hei who served Asai Nagamasa. He later served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, including the Kyūshū campaign in his battle honours.

#### Miyabe Nagafusa (dates?)

Nagafusa chose the losing side at the time of Seklgahara and was dispossessed.

# Miyoshi Chôkei Norinaga (1523-64)

Myoshi Chökes was at the centre of a long conflict between his family and his former overlord Hosokawa Harumoto, whom he besteged in his castle of Miyake in 1549, but held back from killing his old datimys. He was instrumental in the deposing of the shogun Yoshiferu. In 1563 his son was poisoned by Matsunaga Hisahide. Chökel eventually died in 1564.

#### Miyoshi fikkyō Yukitora (+1559)

Yukitora was the brother of Miyoshi Chökei. In 1552 he put Hosokawa Mochitaka to death and seized his lands. Jikkyō was eventually killed in battle.

#### Mivoshi Fuvuvasu (+1564)

The brother of Chökei, Fuyuyasu, a noted poet, was murdered by Matsunaga Hisahide.

#### Miyoshi Yoshitsugu (+1573)

Yoshitsugu was the nephew and adopted heir of Miyoshi Chökei. In 1572 he sided with the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki against Oda Nobunaga, but Nobunaga besieged him in his castle at Wakae and Yoshitsugu killed himself.

#### Mizoguchi Hidekatsu (dates?)

Hidekatsu served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and received the fief of Shibata (Echigo - 50,000 koku). banner: eight bands of black and white, bottom

to top ashigaru: small black and white flag, as banner standard: black ball and feathers with gold

tassels messengers' sashimono: three black and white

flags sashimono: white ring on black

....

# Mizuno Tadamasa (+1543)

Tadamasa's daughter married Tokugawa Hirotada and was the mother of Tokugawa Ieyasu, hence the prosperity of this distinguished family.

#### Mizuno Nobumoto (+1576)

The son of Tadamasa, Nobumoto was the uncle of Tokugawa Ieyasu, but when accused of treason before Oda Nobunaga, Ieyasu did not hesitate to have him executed.

# Mizuno Tadashige (1541-1600)

Tadashige received the fief of Kariya (Mikawa -40,000 koku) from Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He fought at Nagakute and was murdered in 1600.

# Mizuno Katsushige (1564-1651) The son of Tadashige, Katsushige took part in the

Kyūshū campaign under the leadership of Sasa Narimasa, but performed badly during the Korean War. He sided with Tokugawa leyasu, his cousin, at the time of Sekigahara. In 1615, after his bravery at Ōsaka, he received the fief of Koriyama (Yamato  - 60,000 koku), and in 1619 Fukuyama (Bingo -100,000 koku). In 1638 he helped to put down the Shimabara rebellion.

banner: white design of three Japanese coins on black

great standard: three white coin shapes on black

lesser standard: two black umbrellas and a black plume of feathers

sashimono: white coin shape on black personal sashimono (presumably that of

personal sashimono (presumably that of Katsushige himself): gold coin shape on a pole lord's helmet: black with gold badge

# Mizunoya (or Mizutani) Ise no kami Katsutoshi (dates?)

Little is known of this samurai who served Ieyasu. In 1590 he received the fief of Shimodate (Hitachi), and was transferred to Matsuyama (Bitchū -

50,000 koku) in 1639.
banner: three white triple tomoe designs on black lesser standard: black feather plume sashimono; white character 'hacht' on black

messengers' sashimono: black flag with character design

# Mogami Yoshiaki (1546-1614)

Yoshiaki was a daimyō in the far north of mainland Japan. He submitted to Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1600 he sided with Tokugawa leyasu and fought against Uesugi Kagekatsu, as a result of which his fife of Yamagata (Dewa) grew to 520,000 koku. He is shown on the Hasedo screen wearing a red horō.

standard: a black sotoba on a white flag

# Mogami Yoshiyasu (dates?)

Yoshiyasu was the eldest son of Yoshiaki, and fought beside him at Hasedo in 1600.

#### Mori Yoshinari (1523-70)

Yoshinari first served Saitó Toshimasa, then Oda Nobunaga. He was killed at the battle of Anegawa in 1570.

# Mori Nagayoshi (Nagakazu) (1558-84)

Nagayoshi succeeded his father and took part in Oda Nobunaga's campaigns against the fkkō-lkki of Nagashima, and against Takeda Katsuyori. After

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the destruction of the latter in 1582, he received the fief of Matsushiro (Shinano - 100,000 koku). He was killed at the battle of Nagakute.

He was killed at the battle of Nagakute. standard: red Fudő sword above gold fukinuki

# Mori Katsunaga (dates?)

Katsunaga fought at Ōsaka.

# Mori Tadamasa (1570–1634)

Tadamasa was the younger brother of Nagayoshi, and succeeded him. In 1603 he received the fiel of Tsuvama (Mimasaka - 185,000 koku).

Tsuyama (Mimasaka - 185,000 koku). banner: black character 'jū' on white messengers' sashimono: ten small red flags on

a pole sashimono: white flag with slashed edge

standard: gold disc

#### Mori Motonari (1497-1571)

Mori Motonari (1497-15/71) Mori Motonari (1497-15/71) Mori Motonari was one of the most celebrated of all the Sengoku Period dainyok. His family dominated the liniand See area of Japan for haff a coverlord Ouchi Voshiroka. When Ouchi was overthered Ouchi Voshiroka. When Ouchi was overtheron by Sue Harukata, Mori took up arms against him and defeated Sue at the dramatic bastle of Miyajima in 1555. With his main rivol out of the way, Mori Motonari gradually acquired most of the former territories of the Ouchi, and frequently collided with the Otomo of Kyūshih. The Amako continued to oppose him until he overcame their castle of Toda, He was succeeded by his grandsom Mori Terumoto.

# Mori Terumoto (1553-1625) It was Mori Terumoto who was to feel the brunt of

the progress along the Inland Sea by the generals of Oda Nobunaga. He supported the like-likd of the Ishiyama Hongan-ji. With the death of Nobunaga, Mort Terumoto made peace with Toyotomi Itideyoshi, and served in the Kystish expedition. In 1591 he built the castle of Huroshima. In 1600 he opposed the Tokugawa, and was forced to shave his head. For this reason his benefalfy does not appear in O Duna Frunkfi.

# Môri Hidemoto (1579-1650)

Hidemoto was another grandson of Möri Motonari. He first fought against the Höjö of Odawara, then served in Korea, as a result of which he received the fief of Nagato, Suo and Aki (200,000 koku). After Sekigahara his domain was reduced to 50.000 koku.

banner: three white discs on red great standard: flag with white disc on red lesser standard: white plume above two black

plumes messengers' sashimono: black horō with a

white disc lord's helmet: black with gold crescent badge

lord's helmet: black with gold crescent badge ashigaru: five black flags with white disc on each

sashimono: ten black flags with three white discs on each

# Möri Takamasa (1556-1628)

Takamasa had no connection with the Môri of Hiroshima area. He served Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Korea, and in 1594 he received the fiel of Saeki (Bungo - 60,000 koku). In 1600 he sided against Tokugawa leyasu, who reduced his fiel to 20,000 koku.

banner: white design of an arrow's feathers on black

standard: black wreath

sashimono: six white flags, in pairs on a pole

#### Morozumi Masakiyo (d. 1561) Morozumi was an uncle of Takeda Shingen and

was killed during the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

#### Mukai Tadakatsu (dates?) Mukai Tadakatsu served Tokugawa levasu in the

capacity of admiral. He fought during the winter campaign of Ōsaka. great standard: a huge three-dimensional gold

great standard: a huge three-dimensional gold bell with a white plume messengers' sashimono: black and white horo

with serrated edge gold flag lord's personal sashimono: white hiragana

character 'mu' on purple alternative standard; three gold sword-blade

shapes lesser standard: black plume over five gold

balls sashimono: red sun on white

ashigaru: thin flag with five red suns on white

'kami'

alternative standard: three-dimensional silver swastika with white plume

#### Munakata Uiio (+1551)

Ujio took the part of Ōuchi Yoshitaka when he was attacked by Sue Harukata. He was defeated and killed himself

### Munakata Ujisada (+1568)

Ujisada continued the family struggles until 1568. The Munakata heraldry is unknown.

#### Murakami Yoshikiyo (1510-73)

Murakami Yoshikiyo, daimyō of Kuzuo in Shinano province, fought a 30 year long defensive campaign against Takeda Shingen. He was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals' in the head-quarters division at the fourth battle of Kawanaka-lima in 1561. The family mon was the character

Standard and banner are very similar: hata jirushi in white with black designs, but the standard has a slashed lower half.

#### Murakami Yoshiakira (+1624)

Murakami Yoshiakira received the fief of Honjo (Echigo - 95,000 koku) from Toyotomi Hidevoshi.

#### Nabeshima Naoshige (1537-1619)

The Nabeshima were a prominent samural family of Kyashu. Naoshige help did no Ryizogi in their of Kyashu. Naoshige help did not withing which ended with Ryizogi in their war against the Otomeke Help of their needed with Ryizogi. Assonabus seaths at the Battle of Okita Naosate in 1894. In 1897 Nabeshima Nooshige anded Toyotomi Hielgoshi in his massion of Kyashu, and received the fiel of Saga. He also took part in the Korean War in 1600 he sent his son Katsushing to support Tokugawa leyasu in his containing membrane the son Katsushing to Support Tokugawa leyasu in his catherina of the Ryizogian Radio Radio

#### Nabeshima Katsushige (1580-1657)

After the disgrace of the recall noted above, Katsushige returned to the Tokugawa faction and fought against Tachibana Muneshige. During the Osaka campaign he remained in Saga to keep the Shimazu in check. In 1637 he and his sons helped suppress the Shimabara rebellion.

banner: black and white, divided diagonally, with the Nabeshima mon on the upper, white

great standard: black fukinuki

sashimono: two black flags with different mon in white lesser standard black plume above a white

plume messengers' sashimono: two designs are

shown, a black horo and a red horo

#### Nabeshima Motoshige (dates?)

Motoshige was the son of Katsushige, and fought with his father at Shimabara.

banner: white with black open lozenge standard: two three-dimensional varieties of the Nabeshima mon, the upper one in gold, the lower silver

sashimono: a silver flag with slashed edge lord's helmet: black

#### Nagai Naokatsu (1563-1626)

Nagai Naokatsu served Tokugawa Ieyasu, from whom he received a fief of 12,000 koku in 1600. After Ōsaka he received the fief of Kasama (Hitachi 35,000 koku), then in 1622 Koga (Shimōsa -75,000 koku).

# Nagai Naomasa (1587-1668)

The eldest son of Naokatsu, Naomasa was transferred to Yodo (Yamashiro - 100,000 koku) in 1634. hanner: white Mori mon on red

great standard: black cock's feather plume messengers' sashimono: plain red flag sashimono: red with white Môri mon

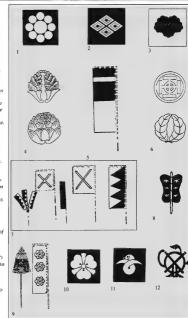
# Nagai Naokiyo (dates?)

Naokiyo was the younger brother of Naomasa. sashimono: black disc on a red ground

# Nagao Tamekage (dates?)

Tamekage was a retainer of Uesugi Funayoshi. When he dared to criticise Funayoshi he was besieged in Nishihama (Etchù) in 1509, but Tamekage won and Uesugi was killed. After going from strength to strength Tamekage was killed

Mon and other heraldic desians: 1. The 'nine stars' desian, used by Hosokawa, Tsutsui and others Other varieties have five stars round the outside and one in the middle, 2, Four lozenge shapes as a mon. Several famihes' mon are sinale lozenges, 3, The mon of Matsunaga Hisahide, 4. The two varieties of the same mon used by Nabeshima Naoshiae. 5. The hanner of Matsukura Shiaeharu, the tyrant of Shimabara. 6. The two mon used by Nakagawa Kiyohide. 7. The complete heraldic display of Niwa Nagashige, for details see text. 8. An uchiwa style fan. used on several flags. 9. The hanner and standard of Ömura Suminohu 10 The wood sorrel with sword blades' mon of Sakaı Tadavo. 11. The currous musube-kariaane ('knotted wild goose') motif used by Shibata Katsuie and others. 12. The mon of Tachibana Muneshiae, also associated with Konishi Yukingaa.



fighting the lkkō-ikki, but his son went on to greater glory as the famous Uesugi Kenshin.

# Nagao Fujikage (date?)

Nagao Fujikage was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought on the left flank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His banner was a black triple tomoc design on white.

# Nagatsuka Masale (+1600)

Masaie is one of few samurai remembered for his services in the unplannous task of Nonida bugby, officer in charge of supplies. In this capacity he served successively Niva Nagahide and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, for whom he organised the transport of 20,000 koku of rice for the siege of Odawara. Masaie received from Toyotomi Hideyoshi the file of Minakuchi (Omi – 50,000 koku). He opposed Tokugawa Iepasu, and with Chosakabe Monchika besseged the castle of Anotsu in Ise. He was among the defeated at Sekigahara and then was besieged in Minakuchi castle by Ikeda Terumasa. He soon committed suicide.

# Naitō Masatoyo (d. 1575)

Naitó Masatoyo was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He was killed at the battle of Nagashino in 1575.

His banners bore a red band on white.

# Naitō Ienaga (1546-1600)

Naito lenaga served Tokugawa leyasu, and in 1590 he received the fief of Sanuki (Kazusa - 20,000 koku). He was killed at the defence of Fushimi castle.

# Naitō Masanaga (1568-1634)

Masanaga was the son of Ienaga. As a result of his services at Ōsaka his revenues were raised to 50,000 koku.

banner: white, black, white, with a small red flag and a gold fan on top

lesser standard: a gold disc and three black plumes above a white hanging flag great standard: two white open squares on

black

messengers' sashimono: a gold slashed edge

flag on a black and red horô sashimono: white squares on black, with a gold

fan

# Naitō Nobunari (1545-1612)

Nobunari was the son of Tokugawa Hirotada and stephrother of Tokugawa leyasu. He was adopted by Naito Kiyonaga, and thus became the adoptive brother of lenaga. He served Tokugawa leyasu against the Hojo in 1390, and received the fiel of Nirayama flzu = 10,000 kokul. In 1601 he received the fiel of Fuch (Suruga 3,000 kokul.) In 1606 he received the fiel of Nagahama (Ömi = 50,000 kokul.)

banner: white uchiwa fan design on red sashimono: white uchiwa fan design on red standard: gold three-dimensional uchiwa fan

# Naitō Genzaemon (dates?)

This family were not related to the above Naitō. Genzaemon served Oda Nobunaga and received the fief of Kameyama (Tamba - 200,000 koku).

# Naitô Yukiyasu (Joan) (d. 1626)

Yukiyasu was a celebrated Christian samurai, who fought in Korea and acted as ambassador to the court of Beying. He was banished to Manila in 1614 on account of his Christian faith. His suit of armour is preserved in the Royal Armouries, Leeds.

#### Nakagawa Kiyohide (1542-83) Kiyohide originally served Oda Nobunaga, In 1583

he was killed defending the fortress of Shizugatake on behalf of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, an action that led to the decisive battle of the same name. His heraldry is unknown except for his distinctive mon, which incorporated the Christian cross.

#### Nakagawa Hidemasa (dates?)

Hidemasa was the eldest son of Kiyohide and died during the Korean War.

#### Nakagawa Hidenari (1570-1612)

Hidenam succeeded his brother and received the fief of Takeda (Bungo 70,000 koku).

banner: three white discs on red

standard: two white flags sashimono: two small red flags with white discs

#### Nakajō Fujikashi (dates?)

Nakajō Fujikashi was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the rearguard at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561, and received a personal commendation from Hesugi Kenshin

His banner was a white design on red, while the sashimono of his retainers was a white character 'vama' on black.

# Nakamura Kazuuji (+1600)

Kazuusi served Toyotomi Hidevoshi, and died just before he was about to set out against Uesugi Kagekatsu on behalf of Tokugawa Jevasu.

#### Nakamura Tadakazu (1590-1609) Tadakazu was the son of Kazuuii.

#### Nakavama Nobuvoshi (1576-1642)

Nobuyoshi was tutor to Tokugawa Yorifusa.

#### Nanbu Nobunao (1546-99)

Nobunao defeated Kunoe Masazane in 1591 with assistance from Toyotomi Hidevoshi, He subsequently accompanied Hideyoshi to Nagoya for the Jaunch of the Korean invasion

#### Nanhu Toshinao (+1632)

Toshinao was the son of Nobunao, and built Morioka castle banner: two thin black bands on white, below a

- crane design
- great standard; a gold cloth-covered basket
- with a black plume
- sashimono: nine sunbursts in gold messengers' sashimono: a black horô
- lord's helmet: black with a gold butterfly crest

#### Naoe Sadatsuna (dates?)

Nane Sadatsuna was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the supply division at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His banner was three black geometrical designs on white.

#### Naoe Kanetsugu (1570-1619)

Naoe Kanetsugu was a retainer of the Uesugi and supported Uesugi Kagekatsu in his struggle with Tokugawa leyasu. He had a revenue of 60,000 koku.

banner: red with three stylised 'yama' characters

# Namise Masakazii (1538-1620)

Naruse Masakazu served Tokugawa Jevasu, who gave him in 1607 the fief of Kurihara (Hitachi -20.000 keku)

#### Namise Masanari (dates?)

Son of Masakazu, Masanari was in charge of lnuyama castle (Owan - 35,000 koku), one of the best preserved of the old Japanese castles today.

#### Nasu Sukeharu (1546-1609)

A minor daimyō who received Fukuwara (20,000 koku) in 1590

#### Natsume Voshinobu (+1572)

Natsume Yoshinobu was the keeper of Hamamatsu castle at the time of the battle of Mikata ga Hara. When the hattle was lost he plunged into the Takeda ranks as substitute for Tokugawa Ievasu.

# Nishina Nobumori (+1582)

and was killed.

Nobumori was the fourth son of Takeda Shingen. After the death of his brother Katsuvori, he fortified himself in his castle of Takato (Shinano). Oda Nobunaga sent a Buddhist priest to him to negotiate a surrender, to which Nishina replied by cutting off the monk's nose and ears. In the subsequent attack Nishina was killed in action.

#### Nishio Yoshitsugu (1530-1606)

Nishio Yoshitsugu served successively Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Tevasn

# Nitta Yoshisada (1301-38)

Yoshisada supported Go-Daigo and captured Kamakura from the Hôjô in 1333.

#### Niwa Nagahide (1535-85)

Nagahide served Oda Nobunaga. He married Nobunaga's niece and received the fief of Sawayama (Ömi - 50.000 koku). He constructed the castle of Azuchi for Nobunaga and as a reward received the fief of Obama (Wakasa - 100,000 koku).

banner: white with red leaves within black

design

#### Niwa Ujitsugu (1550-1601)

Ujitsugu was the keeper of Iwasaki castle for Oda Nobuo during the Komaki campaign of 1584. He later served Toxotomi Hideyoshi.

# Niwa Nagashige (1571-1637)

Nagashige was the son of Nagahide. In 1598 he he for for Komatsu (Kaga = 1000, koku). At the time of the Sekigahara campaign, Nagashige was under arms against his neighber of Nagashige was under arms against his neighber was closely watched for the rest of his life, of the closely watched for the rest of his life, on the control of th

#### banner: black and white design

- great standard: a flag with a red cross on white
  - lesser standard: the same, but smaller sashimono: a white flag, with slashed edges
    - ashigaru: three small flags, like the banner

#### Obata Toramori (d. 1561)

Toramon was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He is recorded as having been wounded 40 times in 30 encounters

His banner was white with a leaf design.

# Obata Masamori (Nobusada) (d. 1582)

The son of Toramort, Masamort (also called Nobusada) was also one of the Takeda Twenty-Four Generals'. He came originally from Közuke province, and led the largest contingent 1500 horsemen in the centre company) at the battle of Nagashino in 1575. He died in 1582 from wounds sustained at Nagashino.

His banners bore a red open octagon on white. He is also credited with a mon of a bamboo design on an uchiwa fan shape, and a leaf-shaped mon appears on a suit of armour and a jinbaori he is known to have owned.

#### Obu Toramasa (dates?)

Toramasa was the younger brother of Yamagata

Masakage and, like him, one of the Takeda Twenty-Four Generals'. He dressed all his troops in red armour, a practice later copied by li Naomasa

His banner was also red with a white crescent moon and star.

#### Ochiai Michibisa (dates?)

Ochiai Michinsa was a retainer of Takeda Katsuuori, seruing the latter at the siege of Nagashino castle, Michinisa was greatly moved by the bravery shown by Tordi Sune'emon, who escaped from the besieged castle to bring help, and was crucified by the Takeda. As a result had a banner made which showed Sune'emon on the cross.

#### Oda Nobubide (+1549)

Oda Nobuhide, father of the famous Nobunaga, defeated the Imagawa at the first battle of Azukizaka in 1542.

# Oda Nobuhiro (+1574)

Nobuhiro was the eldest son of Nobuhide, and was besieged and forced to flee from his castle of Anjo (Mikawa) by Imagawa Yoshimoto in 1549. He was killed fighting the (ikkò-ikki of Nagashima.

#### Oda Nobunaga (1534-82)

Oda Nobunaga is one of the pivotal figures in lapanese history. He was only fifteen when his father died, and at first showed little inclination towards the governance of his domains. His retainer Hirade Kivohide committed hara-kiri as a way of startling the young man into his obligations. The protest had the desired effect, Oda Nobunaga rose to national prominence with his stunning victory of Okehazama in 1560 when he defeated the powerful Imagawa Yoshimoto. In 1564 he defeated the Saitō and made his capital at Gifu. Campaigns against the Asai and Asakura families followed, including the battle of Anegawa in 1570. In 1571 he destroyed the temples of Mount Hiei, ending for ever their military influence. Other religious rivals caused him more problems. His campaign against the lkkö-ikki at Nagashima and Ishiyama Hongan ii lasted a decade. In 1575 he fought the decisive battle of Nagashino, famous for the large scale and

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controlled use of firearms. In 1576 he built Azuchi castle, and towards the end of his life conducted successful campaigns in ise and iga, while loyal generals subdued the provinces around the Inland Sea. In 1582 Nobunaga was murdered in a surprise attack on the Honnoji temple in Kyōto by his general Akechi Mistuhide.

banner: three Japanese coins in black on gold great standard: a large red umbrella

messengers' sashimono: red horo and black horo

#### Oda Nobuyuki (+1557)

The brother of Nobunaga, Nobuyuki held Suemori castle in Owart. In 1557 he conducted negotiations with the Hayashi which Nobunaga perceived as treasonable, and he sent Ikeda Nobuteru to besiege Suemori and kill Nobuyuki.

#### Oda Nobukane (1548 1614)

The brother of Nobunaga, Nobukane was adopted into the Nagao family in 1568. He shaved his head in 1594 and enjoyed retirement as a noted painter.

#### Oda Nobuharu (1549-70)

Nobunaga's brother Nobuharu was killed at Sakamoto in 1570 in war against the Asakura.

Oda (Yurakusai-Joan) Nagamasu (1548–1622) This brother of Nobunaga, better known as Oda Yuraku, was a noted tea-master.

#### Oda Nobutada (1557-82)

Nobutada was the eldest son of Nobunaga and fought beside his father on many occasions. In 1577 he fought against Matsunaga Hisahide, He was in Kyōto when his father was murdered. Having failed to save him, Nobutada withdrew to Njū castle, where he was besieged and forced to commit suicide by Akechis troops.

banner: white rectangle on gold Two standards have been identified a curious

gold box with tassels, and a red umbrella like his father's.

# Oda (Kitabatake) (Jöshin) Nobuo (1558-1630)

The second son of Nobunaga, Nobuo was adopted by the Kıtabatake family to ensure the Oda hegemony over Ise province. He played an active part in the two Iga campaigns. Oda Nobuo then kept the interests of the Oda family alive following Toyotomi Hideyoshi's takeover. He fought at Nagakute (1584), and took an army against the Höjö of Odawara in 1590. He died at the ripe old age of 73.

#### Oda (Kambe) Nobutaka (1558-83)

The third son of Oda Nobunaga, Nobutaka was adopted by the Kambe Family and was involved in the campaigns of resistance of 1583 which followed Toyotomi Hideyoshi's takeover. He committed suicide when besleed in Gifu castle.

#### Oda (Hashiba) Hidekatsu (1567-93)

The fourth son of Oda Nobunaga, Hidekatsu was adopted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He fought in Kyūshū, at Odawara, and died in Korea.

# Oda Katsunaga (1568-82)

The fifth son of Oda Nobunaga, Katsunaga was killed beside his father at the Honnöji. He had owned Inuyama castle (Owarı).

# Oda Hidenobu (1581-1602) At the age of one year, this man, the grandson of

Oda Nohumaga and son of Nohutaka and then called Samboshi, was proclaimed heir to his grandfather. In 1602 he joined the Ishida faction, and defended Gifu castle against the Tokugwax. He was forced to shave his head following Ishida's defeat. He retired to Köyasan, and died at the early age of 21.

#### Oda Hideo (Hidekatsu) (1573-1610)

The eldest son of Oda Nobuo, he received the fiel of Ono (Echizen - 50,000 koku) in 1592. He was dispossessed after Sekigahara and retired.

# Oda Takanaga (+1659)

Takanaga was the fourth son of Oda Nobuo.

#### Oda Nobunori (dates?)

The son of Oda Nobukane, and cousin of Oda Nobunaga, Nobunori appears in O Uma Jirushi. hanner: a red uchiwa fan on a white disc on red

standard: gold fan above two three dimensional black feather balls

messengers' sashimono: ten black plumes

#### Odai Yorisada (dates?)

Odai Yorisada was a minor daimyō defeated by the Takeda, who committed suicide on the blazing bridge leading to his castle, an act of defiance which greatly impressed the Takeda.

#### Ogasawara Nagatoki (1519-83)

Ogasawara Nagatoki was constantly at war with Takeda Shingen. He failed to recapture his castle of Fukashi (now Matsumoto), and sought refuge with Uesugi Kenshin. He withdrew to Kyōto where he taught archery and horsemanship. He was assessinated in 1583.

- ssassinated in 1563.
  banner: the white Ogasawara mon on black
  sashimono: eight black and white stripes from
  bottom to too
- great standard: the white mon on black ashigaru: two small black and white flags lesser standard: a gold three-dimensional
- umbrella over fringes messengers' sashimono: black horð with white dots

#### Ogasawara Hidemasa (1569-1615)

Hidemasa was the grandson of Nagatoki and served Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1590 he received the fife of Koga Cshimösa - 20,000 kokul. In 1601 he was transferred to lida (Shinano - 50,000 koku), and in 1613 he recovered the castle of his ancestors at Fukashi (80,000 koku).

- banner: five white Ogasawara mon designs on
- ashigaru; white mon on a small red flag great standard: large flag with same design sashimono; black and white stripes
- lesser standard: black plume above gold and white 'hair'
  - messengers' sashimono: black horo with white dots

# Ogasawara Tadazane (dates?)

Tadazane was the son of Ogasawara Hidemasa, and took part in the Shimabara campaign.

banner: black and white stripes with the Ogasawara mon on the second black stripe down great standard: the mon in white on black lesser standard: five three-dimensional paulowma led-like objects in gold messengers' sashimono: plain white flag sashimono: as banner

# Ogasawara Tadamoto (dates?)

Tadamoto was the son of Tadazane. He served the Tokugawa and took part in the Shimabara campaign. He kept the castle of Kokura.

- banner: the mon in black on white standard: red three-dimensional 'barrel' with
  - gold additions sashimono: red sun's disc on white

# Okabe Nagamori (1568-1632)

Okabe Nagamori served Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1590 he received the fief of Matsufuji (Shimosa 12,000 koku) and in 1600 Yamazaki (Harima - 20,000 koku).

banner: black and white, with a small red flag sashimono: red disc on white standard: a white half streamer

#### Ōkubo Tadakazu (1510-82)

Tadakazu served the Tokugawa, and helped in the final defeat of the Imagawa in 1555.

#### Okubo Tadayo (1531-93)

Tadayo was the eldest son of Tadakazu, and fought alongside Tokupawa leyasu in all his campaigns. In 1590 he received the fief of Odawara (Sagami - 45,000 koku).

- standard: a large black flag with the Ökubo mon in white
- His personal sashimono was a three-dimensional golden butterfly like the Ikeda mon.

#### Ökubo Tadachika (1553-1628)

Tadachika succeeded his father with a fief of 70,000 koku, but in 1614 he was accused of conspiring against the shogun and was dispossessed.

His mon was the same as his father's. banner: black with two Ökubo mon in white

# Daillier, Diack with two Okabo mon in wi

Ökubo Tadatsune (1580-1611)
Tadatsune was the son of Tadachika. He served
Tokugawa Hidetada in the expedition against Ueda
at the time of Sekugahara.

banner: white ring on black



Oda Nobunaga, one of the greatest names in samural history, in a nortrait from the Fhon Toyotomi Kunkoki. He is dressed in an armour of voroi style to show his status.

great standard: black plume over two black flags

# Ökubo Higozaemon (dates?)

Higozaemon is famous for having fought a single combat with Goto Mototsugu during the summer campaign of Ösaka.

### Okudaira Sadayoshi (dates?)

Okudaira Sadayoshi was originally a retainer of the Takeda and held Tsukude castle, but left in 1573. for the Tokugawa.

# Okudaira Sadamasa (later Nohumasa)

#### (1555-1615)

Okudaira Sadamasa is famous for his stubborn defence of the castle of Nagashino in 1575, which led to the famous battle of Nagashino. In 1590 he received the fief of Miyazaki (Közuke - 30,000 koku) For heraldry see helow.

#### Okudaira Jemasa (1577-1614)

In 1601 Iemasa, son of Nobumasa, received the fief of Utsunomiya (Shimotsuke).

hanner white red white

great standard: a red uchiwa fan on white sashimono: a red stripe on a white flag lesser standard; silver gourd and umbrella messengers' sashimono: white horo with broad red band top to bottom

Ömura Sumitada (Bartolomeo) (1532-87) Sumitada was the son of Arima Sumiaki, and was

chosen as heir by the Omura family. He was baptised in 1562, becoming the first Christian daimyō. In 1580 he ceded Nagasaki to the fesuits. For heraldry see below.

#### Ömura Yoshiaki (Sanche) (1568-1615)

The son of Sumitada. Yoshiaki sided against the Tokugawa in 1600 and was dispossessed. He spent the rest of his life in profligate pleasures. For heraldry see below.

### Ömura Suminobu (or Sumivori) (Bartolomeo) (dates?)

Suminobu was baptised like his father and grandfather, but towards the end of his life he became a persecutor of Christians, and supported the crushing of the Shimabara rebellion.

banner: three open black designs on white great standard: a three-dimensional gold bell sashimono: a smaller version of the banner

# Ono Harunaga (d. 1615)

Ono Harunaga is famous for being one of the defenders of Osaka castle during the siege of 1614-15. He fought the battle of Kashii in 1615 and took a prominent part in the final struggle at Tennőii, Harunaga was killed in action. His banner was white with a black hat design

sımılar to the Yagvü mon.

#### Õno Hamifusa

The son of Harunaga, who also fought at Osaka and was killed there

His banner was white with three black hatchets.

# Onoki Shigekatsu

After the run of the Hatano family in 1579 Shigekatsu received the fief of Fukuchiyama (Tamba - 18,000 koku). He served in the Kyūshū campaign. Later he sided against Tokugawa levasu and committed suicide in 1600.

#### Ōta Dōkan Sukenaga (1432-86)

In 1456 Sukenaga built the first castle at Edo, now the site of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, He shaved his head in 1458 and took the name of Dōkan by which he is known to history. He was assassinated in 1486. Dökan appears in Japanese art because of an incident where he sheltered from the rain at a poor man's house. Instead of bringing him a straw raincoat, the maid brought him a flower on a fan. The significance lies in a complex pun expressed through a poem.

His mon was a flower similar to the Akechi mon.

#### Ōta Suketaka (dates?)

Suketaka was the grandson of Dökan and served Höjö Ujitsuna, keeping the castle of Iwabuchi (Musashi).

#### Ōta Yasusuke (dates?)

Yasusuke served Hōjō Ujiyasu, but revolted against him and was defeated at the first battle of Kōnodai in 1538.

For heraldry see below.

### Ōta Sukemasa (dates?)

Sukemasa was defeated at the second battle of Konodai in 1564.

#### Öta Sukemune [Harukiyo] (dates)

The grandson of Yasusuke, Sukemune served the Tokugawa family. Little is known of his exploits. In 1638 he received the fief of Nishio (Mikawa) and then in 1645 Hamamatsu (Totomi - 35,000 koku). great standard: black flag with a gold lozense.

sashimono: white flag with cut edge lesser standard: black flag with a gold lozenge

messengers' sashimono: red flag ashigaru: black flag with white disc

ashigaru: black flag with white disc banner: black and white

alternative great standard: three white three-dimensional hemispheres of feathers

#### Ötani Yoshitsugu (1559–1600) Ötani Yoshitsugu was a leper who was carried to

to both to solve the both to b

His mon was crossed feathers within a ring. standard: red fukinuki

banner: dark blue with three white discs

# Ötomo Sörin Yoshishige (1530-87)

Under Otomo Yoshishige the Otomo became one of the most powerful damyo families in Kyushu. In 1531 Yoshishige defeated Kikuchi Yoshishige defiated Kikuchi Yoshishige defiated Kikuchi Yoshishige defiated Akizuki Kiyotane and took his lands in Chikuzen province. After shaving his head and takung the name of Sorin, he attacked the Mori. In 1596 he successfully defended Tachabama castle against the Mori. In 1578 Sorin has title battled against the Mori. In 1578 Sorin has title battled against the Shimazou. Fe was soundly beaten by, them in 1578 at the battle of Mimigaeva tisee the cases study.

His mon was a floral design of bamboo shoots, combined with the cross on his banner, which was a hanging hata jirushi.

#### Ōtomo Yoshimune (1558-1605)

The son of Yoshishige, Yoshimune defeated Ryužoji Masaie, but saw his domains reduced after Hideoschi's Kyūshū campaign which was ostenstibly conducted on behalf of the Otomo. He then served in Korea, When Konishi Yukinaga was besiged in Kyone, yang by a Chinese army Otomo Yoshimune failed to go to his aid and instead retreated for this he was banished. In 1600 he sided with Hidda Mistuanri, and was evaled.

# Ouchi Yoshioki (1477-1528)

In 1508 Yoshioki restored the shogun Ashikaga Yoshitane after a fifteen-year absence. He built the castle of Saijo.

# Öuchi Yoshitaka (1507-51)

Yoshitaka first continued his father's military successes, but gradually slid into a life of pleasure. He was overthrown by Sue Harukata who pursued him and forced him to commit suicide.

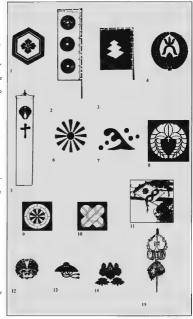
His mon was an ornate lozenge-shaped design standard: white and blue hata jirushi with black mon and slogans

banner: white hata jirushi with black design

#### Ouchi Yoshinaga (+1557)

The brother of Ötomo Yoshishige, Yoshinaga was chosen to continue the family of Ouchi. With the victory of Möri Motonari at Miyajima, Yoshinaga's position became very uncertain. He was soon

1. The mon of Nage Kanetsugu, 2, The three inscribed coins design used by Oda Nobunaga, Six plain coins with no inscription were used by the Sanada, 3, The mon of the Ogasawara as shown on one of their flaas, 4. The mon of Okubo Tadayo. 5. The standard of hatajirushi form of Ötomo Sorin. 6. The mon of Ryūzēji Takanobu. 7. The wave mon of Saitő Dásan & The wisteria man of Gotă Mototsuau, used in a modified form (inside a ring) by Nagatsuka Masaie and Naitō Yukivasu, 9. The wheel mon of Sakakihara Yasumasa. 10. Crossed feathers a popular device that appears within a ring in the mon of Otani Yoshitsugu, 11, A drawing of Sakuma Nobumori wearing his sashimono. 12. The mon of Tsugaru Tamenobu. 13. The hat mon of the Yaavū, A verv similar device was used by Ono Harunaga, 14. The mon of Yamana Säzen Machitava. 15. The ajaantic three dimensional shakulö standard of Tsugaru Nobuhira.



forced to commit suicide and the family became extinct.

#### Ovamada Nobushige (dates?)

Nobushige was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He fought at Kawanakajima, Mikata ga Hara and Nagashino. He held Iwadono castle, and eventually abandoned the cause of Takeda Katsuvori in 1582.

His banner was a white floral design on blue.

#### Rokkaku Takavori (+1520)

The Rokiaku family were a branch of the Sasaki, and the family members which follow are often called Sasaki. Takayori fought during the Onin War In 1487 he was besteged in Annonic castle by the shogun Ashikaga Yoshihisa. Yoshihisa died, but he was replaced by Yoshihisa. Yoshihisa died, but he was replaced by Yoshihisa who defeated Rokiaku in 1492. On the death of the emperor Go-Tsuchimikado, Rokiaku Takayori paid for the funeral, and was allowed to use the imperial kiku-mon (chrysamhenum badged as his own.

#### Rokkaku Sadavori

Sadayori, the son of Tadayori, fought beside Öuchi Yoshioki at the battle of Punaokayama against Hosokawa Masakata (1511). In 1518 he besieged in vain Asai Sukemasa in Odani.

### Rokkaku Yoshikata (d. 1581)

The son of Sadayort, Voshikata helped Hosokawa Harumoto against Myoshi Chloke in 1549. In 1555 he besleged Chikusa castle, but Chikusa Tadaharu negotiated a peace. In 1558 he fought Matsunaga Hisahide at Nyoigamine (Yamashiro). He is best known for founding a martial arts school called the Sasakir-yol.

# Rokkaku Yoshisuke (d. 1612) The son of Yoshikata, Yoshisuke was besieged in

Namazue in 1572 by Shibata Katsule acting on behalf of Oda Nobunaga. With his defeat the independent fortunes of the Rokkaku ended, and he later entered the service of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

### Rokugo Masanori (1567-1634)

Rokugó Masanori was originally a retainer of the Onodera in Dewa province. In 1588 he was defeated along with Onodera Yoshimichi by Akita Sansue. He later served Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, the latter giving him the fief of Fuchu (Hitachi - 10.000 koku) in 1602.

### Ryůmonji Hyôgo no suke

Ryumonji was a warrior monk who fought for the Asakura at Anegawa.

standard: a large blue flag with inscriptions in red of 'Hachuman Dai Bosatsu', 'Amateratsu Kötai Jingu', 'Kasuga Daimyöjin'

### Ryůzějí lekane (1454-1546)

Iekane was originally the retainer of Shōni Masasuke, but when Masasuke was killed he raised fresh troops and defeated the Otomo in 1506

### Ryūzōji Takanobu (1530-84)

The grandson of lekane, Takanobu established himself at Saga (Hizen). He fought against the Shimazu and the Arima and was defeated and killed at the battle of Okita Nawate in 1584.

### Ryūzōji Masaje (1556-1607)

The son of Takanobu, Masaie served Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the Kyūshū campaign, and was therefore confirmed in his fief of Saga (350,000 koku).

### Sagara Nagatsune (dates?) Sagara Nagatsune served in the Korean invasion

and supplied 800 men to Katō Kiyomasa's division in 1592. He was lord of Hitoyoshi in Higo province. He fought at the battle of Haejöngch'ang, in 1600 he sided against Tokugawa Ieyasu, and defended Ogaki castle against the Eastern Army. His mon was like the Maeda mon on a

pentagon.

### Saigō Masakatsu (d. 1561)

Masakatsu was originally a retainer of the Imagawa but joined Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1561. He died when under slege from Asahina Yasunaga.

### Saigō Iezane (+1597)

Iezane served Tokugawa Ieyasu in all his campaigns, and received a small fief in Shimōsa.

#### Saigō Masakazu (1593-1638)

The son of lezane, in 1615 he received the castle of Tōjō (Awa - 10.000 koku).

### Saigusa Moritomo (d. 1575)

Salgusa Moritomo was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals' and an ashigaru-taisho. He was killed at the battle of Nagashino in 1575.

His banners bore an abstract white pine tree on black.

### Saitō Dōsan Toshimasa (1494-1556)

Former priest and oil merchant. Toshimasa took the name Nishimura Hidemoto, then murdered Nagai Nagahiro who had protected him. He made war against Oda Nobuhide and arranged the marriage of his daughter to Oda Nobunaga. When his adopted son challenged him, he went to war and was killed.

### Saitō Yoshitatsu (1527-61)

Yoshitatsu was the son of Toki Yoshiyori and was adopted by Saitō Toshimasa. When his father planned to disinherit him, he went to war and defeated him, Yoshitatsu died of leprosy.

#### Saitō Tatsuoki (dates?)

The son of Yoshitatsu, Tatsuoki was defeated by Oda Nobunaga when he captured Inabayama from him in 1564, and his family disappeared from hustory. Inabayama became Nobunaga's stronghold of Gifu

### Sakai Tadatsugu (1527-96)

The Sakai family were divided into two main branches four generations before the names given here, making them both numerous and extensive. Sakai Tadatsugu, of the senior branch, was one of the most distinguished samurat in sever Tokugawa leyasu, fighting at Anegawa (1570) and Mikata ga Hara (1572). At Nagashino (1575) he commanded the Eastern Mikawa force. He held the strategic Yoshida castle from Yoshidash, and defeated Beda Nobuteru at the battle of Nagakute in 1584. For flaws one below.

### Sakai Jetsugu (1564-1619) Jetsugu was the son of Sakai Tadatsugu, and

succeeded his father in possession of Yoshida castle in 1578. In 1590 he received the fiel of Usui (Közuke – 30,000 koku), in 1594 Takasaki (Közuke – 50,000 koku), and in 1616 Takata (Echigo – 100,000 koku) banner: three red discs on white great standard: red disc on white sashimono: red disc on white messengers' sashimono: red disc on green lesser standard: black plume, gold fan and gold

ashigaru: a smaller red and white flag

#### Sakai Tadavo (dates?)

With the grandsons of Sakai Ietsugu, the senior branch further subdivided into two. Sakai Tadayo used the flower mon of the Sakai as his main insignia, leaving the rising sun flags for the 'senior' senior' branch

banner: black wood sorrel mon on white lord's helmet: plain design

great standard: white mon on dark blue lesser standard: a gold gohei surmounted by a

black plume

sashimono: gold mon on dark blue ashigaru: two white flags with black mon

ashigaru: two white Hags with black mon messengers' sashimono: black with a double gold wavy line

### Sakai Tadakatsu (1587-1622) Less is known of the junior branch of the Sakai

than the senior. In 1634 Sakai Tadakatsu received the fief of Obama (Wakasa - 103,500 koku). The heraldry is very different.

banner: red

great standard: black feathers ashigaru: two red flags

sashimono: red with white design of the li well curb turned through 45 degrees.

### Sakai Yamashiro no kami (dates?)

This name is included in *O Uma Jirushi*, but it is impossible to determine to which branch this character belonged. Presuming from the mon, he was a descendant of Tadayo.

great standard: black wood sorrel mon on white

messengers' sashimono: three black flags with mon in white

#### Sakakibara Yasumasa (1548-1606)

Sakakibara Yasumasa was one of the most trusted retainers of the Tokugawa, fighting alongside Tokugawa leyasu at most major battles. me

For heraldry see below, except for Yasumasa's personal standard, which was a black disc above a stylised character 'kin'

### Sakakibara Yasukatsu (dates?)

Yasukatsu was the son of Yasumasa. He fought at Osaka.

banner: white nine star design on blue

lesser standard: a gold rain hat great standard: white star design on blue

sashimono: white disc on blue ashigaru: three white stars on three blue flags

### Sakakibara Yorinao (dates?)

Yorinao was Yasumasa's adopted son. O Uma Jirushi only records his standard, which was his father's black disc on white above a white plume.

### Sakuma Morishige (+1560)

Morishige became the first Japanese general to be killed by gunfire when his castle of Marune fell to Tokugawa Jeyasu in 1560.

#### Sakuma Nobumori (d. 1582)

Sakuma Nobumori served Oda Nobunaga. In 1570 he defeated the Rokkaku. He served a long campaign against the Ikko-ikki of the Ishiyama Hongan-ji, but because he failed to take it he retired to Köyasan.

### Sakuma Morimasa (1554-83)

Morimasa served Shibata Katsule and was defeated by Toyotomi Hideyoshi at the battle of Shizugatake in 1583. He was later beheaded.

His banner bore three black mon on red.

#### Sakurai Tadavori (dates?)

Sakurai Tadayori served Tokugawa Ieyasu, and received the fief of Kanayama (Mino - 25,000 koku) in 1600.

### Sanada Yukitaka (+1574)

Sanada Yukitaka was a daimyo in Shinano who submitted to Takeda Shingen after a long struggle and became one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He died in 1574.

The rokusen mon, the six coins on the Sanada flag, represented the fee that has to be paid when one crosses the river of death to paradise. It was symbolic of the Sanada family's determination to fight bravely without thinking of the cost. Yukitaka's banners bore this design in black on red of two rows of three coins.

### Sanada Nobutsuna (d. 1575)

The son of Yukitaka, he was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals', and was killed at Nagashino, where he and his brother lost 200 men to the gunfire.

Nobutsuna's banners bore the rokusen mon in black on green.

### Sanada Masateru (d. 1575)

The younger brother of Yukitaka, he was killed beside him at Nagashino in 1575. He was not one of the Takeda "Twenty-Four Generals".

### Sanada Masayuki (1544-1608) Sanada Masayuki commanded Ueda castle, In 1600

he led a spirited defence of the castle which managed to prevent Tokugawa Hidetada from arriving at Sekigahara on time. This represented a considerable split in the family, because his son Nobuvuki had joined the Tokugawa faction.

His mon was a silver ladder.

### Sanada Nobuvuki (1566-1658)

Nobuyuki was originally a hostage of the Tokugawa, but married Honda Tadakatsu's daughter, and in 1600 sided fully with the Tokugawa cause. In 1622 he received the fief of Matsushiro (Shinano – 100.000 koku).

banner: red band on white

great standard: black with six white coin

designs sashimono: red hand on white

sashimono: red band on white lesser standard: gold fan

messengers' sashimono: horō, white, red, white ashigaru: two white flags with red band

### Sanada Yukimura (1570-1615)

Yukımura, brother of Nobuyuki, is celebrated as the commander of the garrison during the siege of Ösaka castle in 1614-15. He was killed during the battle of Tennöji, with which the siege concluded.

standard: red tassels above gold tassels banner: a plain red flag with a small flag attached at the top.

#### Sanada Daisuke (d. 1615)

Daisuke was the illegitimate son of Sanada Yukimura and fought beside him at Osakimura Towards the end of the battle of Tennôji he with drew to the castle to urge Toyotomi Hideyori to come out, but when Hideyori refused, Daisuke chose to remain with him and died fighting.

#### Sasa Narimasa (dates?)

Sasa Narimasa served Oda Nobunaga and received the fief of Fuchu (Etchů - 100,000 koku). He took the part of Oda Nobuo against Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and was defeated by Maeda Toshiie. He was ordered to commit suicide in 1588.

His standard was a two-dimensional gold circle with two sections cut out of the sides.

Other sources give his sashimono as a little black devil on white, below a blue band.

#### Sasaki, see Rokkaku

#### Satake Yoshishige (1547-1612)

Satake Yoshishige fought Ashina Moriuji in 1576, and then led several campaigns against the Hôjô and the Date, which established him as a force to be reckoned with in the north central area of lapan.

### Satake Yoshinobu (1570-1633)

Yoshinobu inherited his father's vast domains. He fought for Toyotom! Hideyosh against the Höjö, and received the flief worth 800,000 koku. At the time of Sekigahara he was effectively neutral, but was transferred to Akita (Dewa – 205,000 koku). He fought for the Tokugawa at Ōsaka, and played a notable part in the battle of Imrakus, during the winter campatin.

banner: white with a red fan bearing a white

sashimono: white with the fan ashigaru: plain black flag

messengers' sashimono: a gold hanging fan

### Satomi Yoshitaka (1512-74)

Yoshitaka succeeded his father Sanetaka who had been assassinated by his nephew Satomi Yoshitoyo in 1533. He besieged Yoshitoyo in his castle of Inamura and had him put to death. In 1538 Yoshitaka was defeated at the first battle of Kônodal by Hōjō Ujitsuna.

### Satomi Yoshihiro (d. 1578)

Following in his father's footsteps, Yoshihiro was defeated at the second battle of Konodai in 1564 by Hōjō Ujiyasu.

### Satomi Yoshiyori (1555-86)

Yoshiyori continued the war against the Höjö.

#### Satomi Yoshiyasu (1573-1603)

Yoshiyasu fought for Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the siege of Odawara in 1590, but his lands were reduced to Awa province (92,000 koku).

#### Satomi Tadavoshi (+1622)

Tadayoshi was implicated in the conspiracy of Ökubo against the Tokugawa and was disposspessed

### Sengoku Hidehisa (1551-1614)

Sengoku Hidehisa served Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He conquered the island of Awaji, but was defeated on Shikoku, and later in Kyūshū. In 1590 he received the fief of Komoro (Shinano – 50,000 koku).

banner: black and white, with a single coin design

great standard: the coin design on white sashimono: red square on white

messengers' sashimono: eight black and white bands

lesser standard: white ring with white tassels Other sources have Hidehisa's standard as a white flag with the character 'mu' (nothingness) on it.

#### Sengoku Tadamasa (dates?)

Tadamasa was the son of Hidehisa. In 1622 he was transferred to Ueda (Shinano - 60,000 koku).

#### Shiha Voshitoshi (1430-90)

Yoshitoshi was adopted into the Shiba family and took a prominent part in the Önin War, but his family suffered in wars against the Oda.

#### Shiha Voshisato (+1521)

Yoshisato was the grandson of Yoshikado, whose succession had been supplanted.

### Shiba Yoshimune (+1554)

Shiba Yoshimune was defeated by Oda Nobutomo in 1554 and killed himself.

### Shiba Yoshikane (+1572)

The son of Yoshimune, and another victim of the

### Shibata Hironaga (dates?)

This Shibata may have been related to the betterknown Shibata below, but the characters of the name Shibata are written differently. He was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the vanguard at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima to 1561.

His banner was a black bird design on white.

#### Shibata Naganori (dates?)

Naganori's relationship to the above Shibata is unknown, but he is likely to be his father or his son. He was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought on the right flank at the fourth battle of Kawanakaiima in 1561.

His banner was a black bird design on white.

#### Shihata Katsuje (1530-83)

Shibata Katsuic was the loyal follower of Oda Nobunaga. In 1570 he was entrusted with the defence of the eastle of Chököji. In a dramatic gesture he smashed the water storage vessels and led a charge against the besiegers, which resulted led a charge against the besiegers, which resulted the Toyotom takeover, but his army under Sakuma was defeated at Shizugatake. Shizugatake Shizhata withdrew to his castle of Kita no shō and killed mmself. His standard was a gold cohe, while his

His standard was a gold gohei, while he banners bore his mon of a bird design.

#### Shibata Katsutovo (d. 1583)

Katsutoyo was the adopted son of Shibata Katsuie and kept the castle of Nagahama.

### Shibata Katsumasa (1557-83)

The brother of Sakuma Morimasa, Katsumasa was adopted by Katsule and died at the battle of Shizugatake in 1583.

#### Shihata Katsuhisa (1568-83)

Katsuhisa was the nephew of Katsuie and was

adopted by him. After Shizugatake he was killed in the pursuit.

#### Shidara Shigetsugu (d. 1575)

During the siege of Nagashino in 1575 there occurred the death from illness of the veteran warrior Shidara Uta no suke Shigetsugu, aged 79. He had served Tokugawa Jeyasu's father, and his experience of warfare had proved invaluable. He may have been the same person as Shidara Sadamichi, whose flaw anopars on the Aneawa screen.

#### Shima Sakon (dates?)

Sakon was a noted strategist who fought at Sekigahara.

### Shimazu Takahisa (1514-71)

The Shimazu's ternitory was the far south of Kyūšhū. In 1542 Takahisa's lands became the first to welcome Europeans. Takahisa has the distinction of being the first dalmyō to use European firearms in warfare. This was in 1549, in his attack on the castle of Kailki in Osumi province.

### Shimazu Yoshihisa (1533-1611)

Voshuhsa was the eldest son of Takahisa, and his life covers the rise and decline of the Shimazu. In 1573 he defeated 1to Suketaka, and later fought the Otomo and the Ryūzōji, kimning the battles of Mimigawa and Okita Nawate, and leading his family to dominance on Kyūshi. The family were finally defeated in the invasion of Kyūshū by Toyotom: Hideyoshi. They opposed Tokugawa leyasu at Sekigahara, but had submitted by the time of Saka.

### Shimazu Yoshihiro (1535-1619) Second son of Takahisa, Yoshihiro helped his

brothers in their campaigns. Following their submission to Hideyoshi, Yoshihiro served in Korea and distinguished himself at the battle of Sach'on, and then fought against Tokugawa leyasu at Sekigahara.

standard: red fukinuki with short streamers banner: black with 'ju' character in white

#### Shimazu Jehisa (d. 1587)

Third of the three Shimazu brothers, he tried to withstand Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of their

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territories, with some initial success, but on the day of his surrender he died from the effects of poison. The Shimazu mon was a black cross within a

The Shimazu mon was a black cross within a ring, which appeared on all their flags and insignia.

### Shimazu (Matsudaira) Iehisa Tadatsune (1576-1638)

This son of Yoshihiro changed his given name to that of his illustrious uncle in 1602, when he also became a Matsudaira. In 1609 he annexed the Ryükyü islands, after which they had to pay an annual tribute to the Shimazu.

banner: black and white diagonally with the Shimazu mon in the top half

sashimono: a gold fan great standard: black feather plume

### Shimazu Norihisa (dates?)

This Shimazu was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty Eight Generals'. He fought in the front rank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

His banner was the Shimazu mon in black on white.

### Shimizu Muneharu (d. 1582)

Muneharu was the keeper of Takamatsu castle in 1582. His suicide was a condition of its surrender, so he committed hara-kiri on a boat on the artificial lake with which Hideyoshi had flooded the castle.

### Shimonojō Saneyori (dates?) Shimonojō Saneyori was one of the Uesugi

'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the third rank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His banner was a white ring on red.

### Shimura Takaharu (dates?)

This samural fought for the Mogami at the battle of Hasedo in 1600, and was the keeper of Hasedo castle.

banner: two white birds like the Shibata device on red

### Shinjō Naoyori (1538-1612)

At Sekigahara, Naoyori joined the Western Army and was dispossessed. When pardoned he received the fief of Aso (Hitachi - 10,000 koku). banner: black with white diagonal stripes messengers' sashimono: horo with red and black sections

great standard: three gold rain hats and a white plume

ashigaru: two flags like the banner sashimono: two black flags with gold discs

### \_\_\_\_\_

Shōni Sukemoto (1497-1532)
This Kyūshū family fought the Ōuchi. Sukemoto contracted a marriage alliance with Ōtomo Masachika, and with his help defeated the Ouchi.

### Shōni Tokinao (dates?)

The son of Sukemoto, Tokinao was overthrown by his vassal Ryūzòji Takanobu in 1554. Defeated again in 1556, he committed suicide and the Shōni family came to an end.

# So Yoshitomo (1568-1615) The So were based on the strategic island of

Tsushima, between Japan and Korea, and came noto conflict with the Matsuura family. So Yoshitomo fought in Korea and attacked Pusan in the first engagement of the war. In 1600 he sided with Tokugawa Ieyasu, but at the time of Sekigahara he did not leave Isushima.

banner: two thin white stripes at the top of a red flag

standard: a gold ball with a plume messengers' sashimono: a gold fan above a

white horo

### Suda Chikamitsu (dates?)

Suda Chikamitsu was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals', who fought in the third rank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His banner bore a gold swastika on dark blue.

### Sue Harukata (d. 1555)

Sue Harukata deposed his overlord Ōuchi Yoshitaka, and was then opposed by his former comrade in arms, Möri Motonari, who defeated him at the battle of Miyatima in 1555.

### Suganuma Sadamitsu (1542-1604)

Sadamitsu served the Imagawa and then the Tokugawa. In 1601 he received the fief of Nagashima (Ise - 20.000 koku).

#### Suganuma Sadamichi (dates?)

Sadamichi fought at Anegawa. He may have been the same person as the above.

### Sugihara Nagafusa (dates?)

Nagafusa fought at Sekigahara for the Western Army, His family became extinct in 1653.

### Suibara Takaie (dates?)

Suibara Takaie was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the second rank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His banner was a white crescent moon on red.

## Susukida Kanesuke (d. 1615)

Susukida Kanesuke disgraced himself during the summer campaign of Osaka by being found drunk in a brothel, as a result of which his fortress fell to the Tokugawa. He later redeemed himself by his brave conduct at Dömyöii, where he was killed.

### Suwa Yorishige (d. 1542)

Suwa Yorishige fought against Takeda Shingen. After making peace, he went to the Takeda capital and was treacherously murdered.

### Suwa Yoritada (1536-1606)

Yoritada served Tokugawa Ieyasu, who in 1592 gave him the fief of Sosha (Közuke - 15,000 koku).

### Suzuki Shigehide (dates?)

Shigehide served Hideyoshi as a gunnery expert, fighting at Komaki and Nagakute.

### Tachibana Muneshige (1567-1642)

In 1587 Tachibana Muneshige defeated the Shimazu, and received the fief of Yanagawa (Chikugo - 120,000 koku). He fought in Korea. distinguishing himself particularly well at the siege of Ulsan. He sided against Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1600 and besieged Ötsu castle. He was subsequently dispossessed, but returned to favour and in 1611 received the fief of Tanakura (Mutsu -20,000 koku). He later helped in the Shimabara campaign.

standard: white tassels above red tassels hanner: black and white with the Tachihana mon sashimono: six red flags

### Taira Masakado (+940)

Taira Masakado led one of the earliest revolts of samurai history and was defeated and killed at Kojima (940)

### Taira Tadamori (1096-1153)

Tadamori was one of the first Taira to enjoy high office. He is famous for having arrested an intruder to the palace, and was presented with a concubine who later gave burth to the famous Kiyomori.

### Taira Kiyomori (1118-81)

Kiyomori was the most celebrated warrior and statesman of the Taira who opposed the rise of the Minamoto.

Taira Norimori (1129-85) The brother of Kiyomori, Norimori defeated Minamoto Yukiie at Muroyama, and committed

### suicide at Dan no Ura. Taira Tadanori (1144-84)

This brother of Kiyomori was killed at Ichinotani

### Taira Moritoshi (+1184)

Moritoshi was another victim of Ichinotani

### Taira Kagekiyo (dates?)

Kagekiyo was adopted from the Fujiwara by the Taira and was captured at Dan no Ura.

### Taira Shigemori (1138-79)

Eldest son of Kiyomori, Shigemori fought at the Högen and Heiji Incidents.

### Taira Munemori (1147-85)

The heir of Kivomori, Munemori took part in all the major conflicts of the Gempei Wars. He was captured at Dan no Ura and executed.

### Taira Tomomori (1152-85)

The victor of the first battle of Uji (1180), Tomomori, son of Kivomori, fought on against the Minamoto, and committed a dramatic act of suicide at Dan no Ura by jumping into the sea tied to an anchor.

### Taira Shigehira (1158-85)

Son of Kıyomori, Shigehira ordered the burning of

Nara. He was captured at Ichinotani in 1184 and beheaded.

### Taira Atsumori (1169-84)

The death of the young Atsumori at Ichinotani in 1184 is one of the most celebrated acts of single combat in samural history

### Taira Noritsune (1160-85)

Noritsune fought at Mizushima, Ichinotani and Dan no Ura, where he drowned himself holding a Minamoto soldier under each arm.

#### Taira Koremori (dates?)

Defeated at Fujigawa 'the battle that never was', Koremori fled from Yashima (1184) and became a monk.

### Takahashi Joun Shigetane (1544-86)

In 1586 Shigetane was besieged in his castle of lwaya by Shimazu Yoshihisa, and committed suicide.

### Takahashi Mototane (dates?)

The adopted son of Shigetane, he received Miyazaki (Hyūga - 50,000 koku) from Hideyoshi, and served in Korea. At the time of Sekigahara he occupied Ógaki castle against Tokugawa Ieyasu.

### Takanashi Masavori (dates?)

Takanashi Masayori was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'.

His banner bore a chequerboard design within a circle.

#### Takayama Hida no kami Darie (+1596)

Darie (his baptismal name) was a fervent Christian who kept Takatsuki castle and became a vassal of Araki Muneshige.

### Takayama Ukon Nagafusa (1553-1615)

The son of the above, Takayama Ukon was a cele brated Christian samurai. He fought at Yamazaki and Shizugatake for Hideyoshi, and also took part in the Shikoku and Kyūshū campaigns. He was celled to Manila in 1615 on account of his Christian beliefs, and died there shortly after his arrival.

standard: gold fan

banner: eight white and red bands

### Takeda Nobutora (1493-1573)

In 1536 Nobutora attacked Hiraga Genshim at Un no kuchh, but had to retreat. His young son Harunobu, then aged lifteen, marched back and took the castle. In spite of this, Nobutora planned to disinherit Harunobu in favour of his younger brother, so Harunobu revolted and sent his father into exile.

### Takeda (Harunobu) Shingen (1521-73)

The eldest son of Nobutora, Takeda Shingen grew to be the exemplar of the successful Sengoku daimyō, ruling his proxinces well, and served loyally in war by his Tvenny-Four Generals. His great rival was Uesugi Kenshin, whom he fought on five occasions at Kawanakajima, the greatest contest being the fourth battle there in 1551. He is also remembered for his victory of Shiojiritoge, and his indecisive victory at Makat ag Altara in 1572. He was killed by a sniper's bullet at Noda castle in 1573.

# Takeda Katsuyori (1546-82) Katsuyori inherited his father's domains and his

fierce reputation. Unfortunately for Katsuyori, he was unable to sustain the Takeda dominance, failing to capture Nagashino castle in 1575, and then being heavily defeated at the battle of Nagashino. It is, however, to Katsuyori's credit that managed to hold out against his cemeires until 1582, when he was defeated and committed souicide at the battle of Temmokuzan.

His mon was similar to the straight-edged Takeda mon

His banners bore the character 'tai' (great) in black on white and in white on black

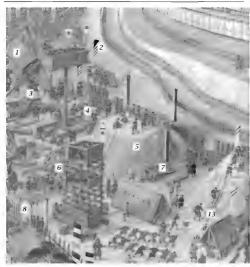
### Takeda Nobushige (d. 1561)

Takeda Nobushige was the younger brother of Takeda Shingen and was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He was killed at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561 and is buried on the battlefield.

His hanners hore a white disc on black.

#### Takeda Nobukado

Nobukado was another brother of Takeda Shingen and was one of the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals'. He was killed in 1575



His flags bore the Takeda mon in white on blue.

### Takemata Hirotsuna (dates?)

Takemata Hirotsuna was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought in the vanguard at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561 and was one of the first Uesugi samurai to make contact with the Takeda. The force of the collision knocked him clean off his horse. His banner was a black ring on white.

### Takenaka Shigetsugu (+1634)

Shigetsugu was governor of Nagasaki, but was dispossessed owing to his excesses.

standard: white ball above gold fan above gold umbrella



A reconstruction by artist Richard Hook of Japanese siege weapons and techniques before the time when siege cannon were widely used. The picture is based on the author's current research work with the Royal Armouries, which has shown that many Japanese siege engines were based on welldocumented Chinese originals, 1. A kikkosha (tortoise wagon), which was used to provide cover from failing missiles as stones were prised out of walls. Tortoise wagons proved decisive at the second siege of Chinju. 2. Archers firing from behind small kuruma date, wooden shields fitted with wheels. 3. A komaku, a large wooden shield suspended from a moveable arm on a cart, so that the shield may be raised, lowered or turned to cover an area of activity, such as filling in a moat. 4. Bundles of green bamboo, which have high absorbency properties, fitted to a wheeled framework, 5. Arquehusiers fire from behind a defence of straw rice bales filled with soil or sand. Their mound is reached by bamboo ladders, which could also be used for scaling the ramparts. 6. A kuruma seirō, a siege tower on wheels, pulled along by ropes. There is a long languese tradition of using similar wagons in festivals, as seen today in Takayama and at the Gion Festival in Kyöto. 7. The entrance to a mine. Minina techniques included weakening towers, as at Nagashino, and providing surprise entry to castles, as at Itami. In front of the mine entrance sits a stronger version of the kuruma date, with protection to front and rear, 8. Foot soldiers pass through the gate of the siege lines and back to the mine with emptied soil carriers, 9, Scouts from within the garrison sally out to taunt the besiegers, 10. The simple wood and plaster walls of the castle, with an upper and lower platform for firing from. 11. A loose wooden palisade. 12. A bōsha seirō, a small siege tower on wheels, hauled un by ropes. This was primarily used for observation, 13, A smaller version of a tortoise wagon, known to the Chinese as a 'wooden donkey'. 14. A most unlikely looking version of a siege tower which appears in several illustrations. Its purpose was probably to provide an elevated firing platform, because any movement would tend to make it unstable. (Reproduced by courtesy of Military Illustrated).

Masanobu served Tokugawa Jeyasu. and in 1619 received the fief of Imao (Mino - 30,000 koku).

### Takigawa Kazumasu (dates?)

Kazumasu served Oda Nobunaga with great loyalty. He fought at Anegawa, and was prominent in the campaigns against the Ikko-ikki of Nagashima. He besieged Araki Muneshige at Itami in 1579, and then fought against Takeda Katsuyori. When Nobunaga was murdered, he opposed Hideyoshi, and was defeated along with his allies.

His standard was three red balls, one above

#### Tanaka Yoshimasa (+1609)

Yoshimasa served Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, receiving from the last the fief of Kurume (Chikugo - 320,000 koku).

#### Terazawa Hirotaka (Masanari) (1563-1633)

Hirotaka served Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and after the Kyūshū campaign he received the fief of Karatsu (Hizen - 80,000 koku). He was governor of Nagasaku and took part in the Korean War. In 1600 he fought for the Tokugawa and received the fief

# of the Amakusa islands (120,000 koku).

- lesser standard: double white flag with cut edges
- messengers' sashimono: red horō with black
  - disc sashimono: two small flags, white and black

### Terazawa Katataka (1609-47)

The son of Hirotaka, Katataka was a cruel daimyō who brought about the local manifestation of the Shimabara rebellion in his domains. He was dispossessed and went mad, committing suicide in 1638.

### Toda Togoro (dates?)

Toda Togoro (uates;)
Toda Togoro, who was under the command of
Matsudarra Matashichiro during the siege of
Nagashino in 1575, was devoted to the worship of
Hachiman, the Shinto god of war. One morning he
Hachiman, the Shinto god of war. One morning he
Hachiman, the Shinto god of war. One morning he
Hachiman for good fortune in wer.
He was spotted by an enemy general, who sent a
samurar down to the river to dispatch him, but
the Takeda warrior missed his footing and fell
into the water. Taking this as a sign of the god's
goodwill, Togoro takkled the man and cut off his
head, which he took back as a trophy, and dedicated, appropriately enough, to Hachiman.

### Toda (Matsudaira) Yasunaga (1562-1632)

The Toda were a multi-branched family who served the Tokugawa. Yasunaga's branch, the senior one, were allowed to use the name of Matsudaira.

### Toda Tadatsugu (1532-98)

The junior branch, in the person of Tadatsugu,

received the fief of Shimoda (Izu 5,000 koku) in 1590.

### Toda Takatsugu (1565-1615)

Takatsugu was the son of Tadatsugu. He owned Tawara (Mikawa - 10,000 koku).

### Toda Kazuaki (1542-1604)

Kazuaki was a retainer of Tokugawa Ieyasu in a further branch of the Toda family. In 1601 he received the fief of Zeze (Omi - 30,000 koku).

For heraldry see below.

### Toda Ujikane (dates?)

- Ujikane was the son of Kazuaki. banner: white nine stars on red lesser standard: two white plumes above a
- black one
- great standard: white nine stars on red sashimono: plain red flag
  - messengers' sashimono: silver crescent
  - ashigaru: two flags, three white discs on red

## Tödö Takatora (1556-1630)

Todó Takatora served Oda Nobunaga, then Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He commanded part of the Japanese fleet during the invasion of Korea. In 1594 he receved 'the fiel of Osu (tyo - 80,000 koku). After Sekigahara he was transferred to Uwajima (tyo - 200,000 koku), then in 1608 to Tsu (ise - 232,000 koku). He took a prominent part in the summer campaign of Osaki.

- banner: three white discs on black sashimono: an unusual three-dimensional gold
- gourd great standard: a red fukinuki with a black
- lord's helmet: black with gold horns and a red
  - frontlet messengers' sashimono: an elaborate red and
  - black horō with two black plumes lesser standard: a gold umbrella with a red
  - alternative messengers' sashimono: a red and black horō with gold sunburst

### Tödő Takanori (d. 1615)

The son of Takatora, Takanori was killed at the battle of Yao.

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### Tödő Ujikatsu (d. 1615)

Another son of Takatora who was also killed at

### Togawa Hidevasu (+1598)

Hideyasu was a retainer of Ukita Hideie, and had a revenue of 25,000 koku

### Togawa Satovasu (1569-1627)

Satoyasu was the son of Hideyasu who subsequently served Tokugawa leyasu. In 1600 Satoyasu received the fief of Niwase (Bitchů – 30,000 koku). banner: three white six star designs on black

sashimono: black and white, eight bands bottom to top

standard: black feather-covered rain hat (?)

#### Tokugawa Nobutada (1489 1531)

Tokugawa Nobutada held the castle of Anjo in Mikawa and was frequently at war with his neigh bours.

### Tokugawa Kiyoyasu (1511-36)

This son of Nobutada was murdered by one of his vassals, Abe Masatoyo.

### Tokugawa Hirotada (1526-49)

The father of the famous leyasu, Hirotada was at war with Oda Nobuhide, and tried to make alliance with Imagawa Yoshimoto by sending his son leyasu as a hostage, but he was intercepted by his enemies. Hirotada beat Nobuhide in battle, but died soon afterwards.

### Tokugawa leyasu (1542-1616)

along with Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa keyasu is perhaps the most important and influential of all the names catalogued here. He had an unpromising childhood as hostage of the Imagawa, for whom he fought as a young man against Oda Nobunaga. His alliance with Oda Vobunaga held firm. and leyasu fought lovally at Aukizaka (1594). Anegawa (1570), Mikata ga Hara (1572) and Nagashino (1575). The death of Nobunaga heladed him against Toyotomi Hideyoshi, but through adroit political skills lexasu avoided the fate of other rivals, and ther major conflict at Nagakute (1584) ended in stalematic Following the defeat of the Hojo, Jeysua

received their territories. He avoided service in Korea, leaving him in a strong position when thisdeyshi died. He challenged the Toyotom family for the succession against a powerful alliance under Ishida Mitsuanri, whom the defeated at the epic battle of Sekigahara (1600). He became shogun in 1603, and finally vanquished the Toyotom with the long and bitter seege of Seaks castle in 1614–15. He died peacefully in bed in 1516, having established a dynasty that would last for two and a half centuries.

O Uma Jirushi gives his heraldry as follows: banner: plain white, with a small flag with the

Tokugawa mon

oreat standard: a large gold fan

lesser standard: a silver crescent messengers' sashimono: the character 'go'

(five) on various coloured backgrounds sashimono: a round gold fan with black stripes leyasu also used a flag bearing a motto of the Jödo sect, 'Renounce this filthy world and attain the Pure Land'

Other sources give his samurai's sashimono as a white flag bearing a gold disc. It is therefore likely that the gold fan sashimono mentioned above may have been for his personal bodyguard, which is how it appears on the Ösaka screen.

### Tokugawa Nobuyasu (1559 79)

The eldest son of leyasu, Nobuyasu was accused of treason and invited to commit suicide at the age of 21.

### Tokugawa Hideyasu (1574-1607)

For Hideyasu, the second son of leyasu, see Matsudaira (Yükı).

### Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632)

The third son of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and the second Tokugawa shogun, Hirotada laid siege to Ueda castle and missed Sekigahara, but redeemed himself at Ösaka. His heraldry from the time when he fought beside his father was white flags with three mon.

#### Tokugawa Tadavoshi (1580-1607)

The fourth son of leyasu, Tadayoshi was adopted by Matsudaira letada and was first called Tadayasu. See Matsudaira (Tokugawa) for details of his heraldry.

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### Tokugawa Nobuyoshi (1583-1603)

Nobuyoshi was the fifth son of leyasu, and was chosen to represent the Takeda family which had become extinct. He received the fief of Sakura (Shimosa - 40.000 koku) in 1594, but died young.

### Tokugawa Tadateru (1593-1683)

Sixth son of leyasu, he was chosen as heir to Matsudaira (Nagasawa) Yasutada and received Sakura (Shinano - 180,000 koku). He was tardy in joining the Ösaka forces, and was afterwards dispossessed.

### Tokugawa (Owari) Yoshinao (1600 50)

Yoshinao was the seventh son of leyasu, and received his first taste of combat at Osaka. His fiefs were as follows: 1603, Fuchu (250,000 koku), 1607, Kiyosu (550,000), 1610, Nagoya castle (619,500).

- banner: white, black upper quarter with the Tokusawa mon in white
  - lesser standard: gold umbrella with a sword blade
- messengers' sashimono: plain gold flag great standard: Tokugawa mon in white on red
  - sashimono: five gold sunburst rays lord's helmet; gold disc above green peak

### Tokugawa (Kii) Yorinobu (1602-71)

He was the eighth son of leyasu. His fiefs were: 1603, Mito (250,000 koku); 1606, Fuchu (250,000 koku); 1609, Wakayama (550,000).

- banner: Tokugawa mon black and white great standard: black with a white mon lesser standard: gold gohei
- sashimono: gold disc on black messengers' sashimono: the same, also a horô with a gold disc

### Tokugawa Yorifusa (1603-61)

The ninth son of leyasu, who owned in 1606 Shimotsuma (100,000 koku), and in 1609 Mito (350,000).

- banner: gold open square on thirteen black and white strines
- white stripes great standard: white feather ball messengers' sashimono: blue feathers above
- red horo lord's helmet: plain

sashimono: gold open square on red lesser standard: black rain hat

alternative messengers' sashimono: a silver crescent

### Tomita Nobuhiro (dates?)

Nobuhiro served Hideyoshi and in 1586 received Anotsu (Ise - 100,000 koku).

### Tomita Tomonobu (dates?)

The son of Nobuhiro, Tomonobu defended his castle against the Mori family, and was rewarded by Tokugawa leyasu with the fief of Uwajima (Iyo 120,000 koku) in 1608.

### Torii Sune'emon (d. 1575)

The archetype of samural bravery, Torii Sune'emon was a 34-year-old samurai of Mikawa province and a retainer of Okudaira Sadamasa who was among the garrison at the siege of Nagashino castle in 1575. His bravery was renowned, and he was also very familiar with the territory, so he volunteered for the suicidal task of escaping from the castle and making his way to Okazaki to request help from Tokugawa Ievasu. On his return. Toris Sunc'emon was caught and was brought before Takeda Katsuvori, who offered him service in the Takeda army. Torii Sune'emon apparently agreed, but the suspicious Katsuvori insisted that he demonstrate this change of allegiance by addressing the garrison and telling them that no force was on its way, so that surrender was the only course of action. Some accounts say he was tied to a cross, others that he merely stood on the cliff edge to bellow out his message, but it was by crucifixion that he met his end, because instead of urging the defenders to surrender, he shouted to them to stand fast, as help was indeed on its way. One account speaks of spears being thrust into his body as he uttered these words, others of his execution later. One retainer of the Takeda, Ochia: Michihisa, was so impressed that he had a flag painted on which was an image of Torn Sune'emon, tied to the cross

#### Torii Mototada (1539-1600)

In 1590 this loyal servant of the Tokugawa received the fief of Yahagi (Shimosa - 40,000) koku). He is celebrated for his spirited defence of the castle of Fushimi against Ishida Mitsunari. When it fell, Torii Mototada committed suicide. For heraldry see below.

### Torii Tadamasa (1567-1628)

In recognition of his family's bravery, Tadamasa received the fief of livakidaira (Mutsu – 100.000 koku) in 1606, and went to Yamagata (Dewa 260.000 koku) in 1622.

banner: mon of a 'torii' gate in gold on dark blue

lord's helmet: black lacquer

great standard: gold torii on dark blue sashimono: the same

lesser standard: a gold lantern messengers' sashimono: a black torii on white

### Tovotomi Hidevoshi (1536-98)

Although born of humble origins, Toyotomi Hidevoshi rose to be the first of the daimyo to rule the whole of Japan. He first served Oda Nobunaga. fighting beside his master at all of Nobunaga's battles. The opportunity for Hidevoshi came with Nobunaga's death. He avenged the assassination by marching rapidly to Kyöto and defeating the army of Akechi Mitsuhide at the decisive battle of Namazaki (1582). He soon fell out with the old Oda supporters, whom he defeated one by one, culminating in the battle of Shizugatake in 1583. Only Tokugawa levasu now opposed him in central Japan. A battle between the two, at Nagakute (1584) was indecisive, and a truce was called. In turn. Toyotomi Hideyoshi nacified Shikoku and Kyūshū, and defeated the mighty Hōjō at Odawara in 1590. He over-reached himself only with the invasion of Korea in 1592, which ended in failure He died in 1598.

His personal heraldry dates from 1573, following the defeat of the Asai family, when Hideysohi achieved a certain degree of independence from Oda Nobunaga by being granted in fiel the castle of Nagahama. The details of his troops and their heraldry are interesting in providing a snapshot' of the future Talko on one stage of his rise to glory. Unfortunately there are no numbers or weaponing year.

His uma-jirushi was a single golden gourd. Takahashi Ken'ichi, in his book Hata Sashimono, devotes several pages to a discussion of whether or not Hideyoshi ever really did adopt the famous 'thousand gourd standard', and notes that as late as 1373 only one gourd is to be seen. This is on the famous painted screen of the battle of Nagashino.

His fudal-shū included a seven-man contingent who formed Hideyoshi's personal bodyguard known as the 'yellow-horô-shū'. (Compare Nobunaga's use of black and red horô in his army.) Their numbers were later raised to 22. Hideyoshi's messengers, 29 in all, were distinguished by an identical gold coloured flag.

standard: a golden gourd above a gold flag. He is supposed to have added a gourd for every victory, but in most illustrations, including O Uma lirush, there is only one gourd

messengers' sashimono: a gold horô alternative messengers' sashimono: a small version of the banner great standard: a red streamer with a gold fan sashimono: a plan gold flag (sometimes shown with a gourd design on it.)

### Toyotomi (Miyoshi) Hidetsugu (1568-95)

Hidesugu was Toyotomi Hideyoshi's nephew. He served his uncle so well at Nagakute (1584), Negoroji (1585) Shiokiu (1585) and Odawara (1592) that Hideyoshi proclamed him as, his heir, but when Hidesusgu refused to serve in Korea, relations became strained, so that following the birth of Toyotomi Hideyori, Hideyoshi ordcred the suicide of Hidesusgu.

banner: a white flag with an open work flower mon

lesser standard: a golden gohei great standard: a white streamer messengers' sashimono: a black horō

### Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615)

Inheriting his father's empire while still in infancy, Hideyori witnessed the rise of the Tokugawa, whom he challenged in 1614 in the siege of Osaka. In 1615 he died as the castle fell

Heraldry as for Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

#### Tozawa Morivasu (1566-90)

Morryasu was a retainer of the Nanbu family and castellan of Kakunotate (Dewa).

### Tozawa Masamori (1585-1648)

Son of Moriyasu, Masamori sided with the Tokugava in 1600 and received the fief of Matsuoka (40,000 koku). In 1622 he was transferred to Shinio (Dewa - 68,000 koku).

banner: twelve black and white stripes

great standard: three white umbrellas messengers' sashimono: a black horo with two

white flags ashigaru: red disc on blue

lesser standard: gold horns above a red disc on

blue sashimono: as for the ashigaru but with a plume

### Tsuchiya Masatsugu (d. 1575)

Tsuchiya Masatsugul was one of the Takeda Twenty-Four Generals'. He fought at Mikata ga Hora and was killed at the battle of Nagashino in 1575. Faithful to the last, his three sons died with Takeda Katsuyori at the battle of Temmokuzan in 1582.

His banners bore a white torii gate on black.

### Tsuchiva Tadanao (1585-1612)

Possibly related to the above, this Tsuchiya family served the Tokugawa.

banner: black and white, eight bands bottom to top

lesser standard: a gold gohei

sashimono: white torii on black great standard: as for the sashimono

messengers' sashimono: two black and white flags as banner

### Tsugaru Tamenobu (d. 1608)

A daimyō of northern Japan, Tsugaru Tamenobu was originally culled Qura Tamenobu. He fought Nanbu Nobunao. He submitted to Toytoomi Hidoyoshi and Fought against the Hojō, at which time he took the name of Tsugaru. Tamenobu captured Namioka castle in 1590. In 1600 he supported the Tokugawa, and saw his revenues increase to 47,000 koku.

For heraldiry see helow.

Tsugaru Nobuhira (1586-1631)

The son of Tamenobu, Nobuhira built Hirosaki castle in 1610.

banner: two red swastikas on white lesser standard: gold disc on white sashimono: gold on red

sasnimono: goid on red great standard: a large three-dimensional shakuiō in gold. (A shakuiō is a metal 'rattle'

used by Buddhists.) messengers' sashimono: a red horô with a gold crescent moon

crescent moon alternative messengers' sashimono: purple and white horo

ashigaru: two red flags

#### Tsutsui Junkei (Fujimasa or Fujikatsu) (1549-1641)

Junker served Nobunaga against Matsunaga Hashaide, shom be defeated at Sugusan in 1577 and received Yamato province as a reward. He also fought in the Igg in masion. Following the death of Nobunaga, he arrived at Yamazako, and sat waiting on a nearby full until the outcome was in no doubt, whereupon he attacked the already defeated Askerb Missuakhe. Heldysolsh was disnediend to reward such activities, and Junker had his revenues reduced.

mon: six star design

### Tsutsui Sadatsugu (+1615)

The adopted son of Junkei, his uncle, Sadatsugu fought in the attack on the Negoroji warrior monks in 1885, along with Hori Hidemasa. In 1800 he sided with leyasu against Uesugi Kagekatsu, but was dispossessed later following maladministration.

### Uesugi (Ogigayatsu branch)

Two prominent branches of the extensive Uesugi family were active during the Sengoku Period. We will deal with the minor one first, the Ogigayatsu.

#### Uesugi Tomovoshi (+1518)

Tomoyoshi opposed the rise of Höjö Söun, who was at first forced to acknowledge the Uesugi sovereignty.

### Uesugi Tomooki (1488-1537)

The son of Tomoyoshi, Tomooki attempted to relieve the castle of Arai, under slege from the Hojo in 1518, in one of many conflicts against the Hojo.

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### Uesugi Tomosada (+1544)

Tomosada, son of Tomooki, lost his castle of kawagoe to the Hôjô in 1537. On attempting to retake Kawagoe in 1545, he was killed With him the Osioavatsu branch came to an end.

### Uesugi (Yamanouchi branch)

### Uesugi Norifusa (1466-1524)

Norifusa was often in arms against the Höjö, but eventually died of illness.

### Uesugi Norimasa (1522-79)

After several encounters with the Hōjō, Norimasa lost his last possession, Hirai castle, to them in 1551. Norimasa fled to the protection of his vassal Nagao Kagetora, whom he adopted as his son.

#### Uesugi Kenshin Terutora (Kagetora) (1530-78)

Uesugi Kenshin is celebrated as one of the greatest samural commanders in Japansee history. After rising to power within the Nagao family, he was adopted by Uesugi Norimasa, who was then in desperate straits. Kenshin was often at war with both the Takeda and the Höjd, and on many occasions showed himself to be their equal. He fought Takeda Shingen five times at Kawanakajima. In 1538 he went to war against the Hoj and took their castles of Numan and Umayabashi, in 1577 be won victories at Nanoo and Tedorigawa. In 1578 he entered an alliance with Takeda Katsuyori against Oda Nobunaga, but his sudden death in mystenous crucurstances led many to suspect assessimation.

standard: large dark blue fan with red sun's

banner: hata jirushi in dark blue with red sun's

sashimono: the design is believed to be the love-birds in bamboo motif, similar to that shown for the Date family

### Uesugi Kagetora (1552-79)

Kagetora was the seventh son of Hōjō Ujiyasu and was adopted by Uesugi Kenshin, but his inheratance was challenged by Uesugi Kagekatsu. Kagetora eventually killed humself.

#### Uesugi Kagekatsu (1555-1623)

Kagekatsu was the nephew of Uesugi Kenshin. On

the death of Kenshin, Kagekatsu challenged Kagetora's inheritance, and war ensued. Kagekatsu won, and received the fiel of Aizu, valued at 1,200,000 Koku. In 1600 Uesugi Kagekatsu declared against the Tokugawa and fought Mogam, and Date, but hurriedly pledged allegace after Sekigahara, and received the fiel of 1,000,000 Koku. He fought at

Osaka for the Tokugawa.

great standard: gold disc on dark blue, and a
large light blue fan

lesser standard: white, with the character 'bi' for Bishamonten sashimono: red

Ukita Naoie (1530-82)
Naoie was at first a vassal of Urakami Munekage, who had his father put to death. Freeing himself of this obligation, he became master of Bitchū province. He then took on the Möri family.

#### Ukita Hideie (+1662)

As Hidde was still a child when his father Nanie didet, he was brought up by Toyotom Hideoysch, whom he served loyally thereafter. When Korea was subjugated, Ukita Hidele was made commander in chief. Hidde took part in the attack on Fushimi castle in 1600, and being among the being discovered at Schigahara, he fled to Satsuma. On being discovered, he was exiled, and slived to the age of 90.

hanner: blue with two Ukita mon in white

Dailliet. Dide with two CKita intoli in with

### Uozumi Kageyuki (+1570)

Kageyuki was a retainer of the Asakura who was killed at the battle of Anegawa.

standard: a large red nobors with the character 'bi' in gold, and gold tassels

# Usami Sadakatsu (Sadayuki) (dates?) Usami Sadakatsu was one of the Uesugi

'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He was in charge of the messengers at the fourth battle of Kawanakajuma in 1561. In 1564 he was asked by Kenshin to dispose of Nagao Yoshikage, which Usumi did by inviting the fellow to go boating with him and then drowning him.

The use of the character 'mu' has been identified.

#### Utsunomiya Hirotsuna (1544-90)

Hirotsuna was a minor daimyō who formed a series of alliances with the Uesugi, the Hōjō and finally Hideyoshi, whom he supported at Odawara.

### Wakizaka Yasuharu (1554-1626)

Wakizaka Yasuharu served Akechi Mitsuhide, then Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1585 he received the fiel of Awaji Island (30,000 koku). During the invasion of Korea he commanded part of the Japanese Hideaki in 1600 he followed Kobayakawa Hideaki in defecting to the side of the Tokugawa, thus contributing to the victory. He then stormed Islida's castled of Sawayama.

### THE VACYO - A SWORDSMAN FAMILY

The Yagyū were a minor daimyó family with lands in the vicinity of Nara who succeeded in becoming jutors to the Tokugawa shoguns. Their first swordsman hero, Yagyū Munevoshi (1527-1606), participated in his first battle at the age of sixteen, which was fought against Tsutsui Junshō, an ally of Miyoshi Chōkei, the man who was eventually to murder the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru. The Yagyū were defeated in the struggle and made to fight for the victor from then on, until Miyoshi's ally Matsunaga launched an attack on Tsutsui and the Yagvu joined Matsunaga's side. Matsunaga was victorious, so the Yagyū subsequently fought for him. Their battles included one against warrior-monks during which Yagyū Munevoshi received an arrow through his hand, which does not seem to have affected his sword-fighting prowess.

In 1563 Muneyoshi's path crossed that of another great swordsman, Kamilizumi Nobutsuna another great of introduction to the monk field, chief priest and martial arts expert of the Hozo-lin temple of Nara. Inel was related to the Yagyil, and, knowing the reputation of both men, decided to bring them together in a contest at the Hozo-lin. Nobutsuna was then 55 years old, while blumeyoth was twenty years younger. We may be the horse of the word of the horse o

banner: two white ring designs on a red field ashigaru: two small red flags with white

designs

great standard; red flag with the white design sashimono; red flag with the white design

### Watanabe Hanzô Moritsuna (dates?)

Watanabe Hanzō (nicknamed 'Devil Hanzō', to distinguish him from Hattori 'Spear Hanzō') served Tokugawa leyasu, fighting at the battle of Anegawa.

His banner was blue with the character 'myō' in gold. His personal sashimono was a three-dimensional red bucket.

further surprise awaited Muneyoshi when he arrived, because Bungoro was not carrying a bokuto, the usual wooden practice sword, but what appeared to be a bundle of bamboo sticks bound together - the first time anyone had seen a shinal, the lightweight sword used in modern kendó.

Muneyoshi faced his rival holding his bokuto. Each watched the other, waiting for an unguarded moment. Then suddenly Bungorö struck, and Muneyoshi had the unfamiliar experience of feeling a wooden sword blade actually strike him across the forehead. Being used to techniques whereby the blow was pulled rather than allowed to make contact, he continued the duel, only to receive the shinai again. At this point Muneyoshi realised that he had come across a superior style of sword fighting, and was about to acknowledge this when the master Kamiizumi Nobutsuna took the shinai from Hikida Bungorō and challenged Munevoshi to a further duel. Muneyoshi took his guard, but the mere gesture of the challenge had beaten him. He threw his bokuto to the ground and knelt before Nobutsuna, begging to be taken on as his pupil. Kamiizumi accepted the offer. Two years later, after much hard training, Yagyū Muneyoshi was named as his successor, thus creating the Yagvū Shinkage-ryū, the greatest school of swordsmanship that Japan was ever to see,

In 1594 Tokugawa Ieyasu invited Yagyu Muneyoshi to his mansion in Kyöto. Muneyoshi was accompanied by his son Munenori, and they

#### Watanahe Kanhe'e (dates?)

A distinguished samurai who took six heads in battle at the age of seventeen. He served Tödö Takatora at Ösaka where he was credited with 30 heads.

### Yagyū Muneyoshi, see the separate boxed entry

### Yamagata Masakage (d. 1575)

Yamagata Masakage was one of the veterans among the Takeda 'Twenty-Four Generals' He fought at Mikata ga Hara and Yoshida, and was eventually killed in action at Nagashino in 1575. His hanners hore a white flower on black

gave such a display of swordsmanship that the enthusiastic leyasu took a wooden sword to try his skill against Munevoshi. He brought the bokutô down against Muneyoshi's forehead, then before he knew what had happened. Muneyoshi had dodged, deflected the blow and grabbed the sword by the hilt in a move similar to modern aikido. He held Ievasu by the left hand and made a symbolic punch to his chest. The sword had gone spinning across the room. This was Muneyoshi's demonstration of the technique he called muto, literally 'no sword', Following this encounter, levasu asked the Yagyū to become the Tokugawa's sword instructors. Muneyoshi excused himself on the grounds of his age, but suggested that his son Munenori (1571-1646) would make an excellent sensei (teacher), an offer that leyasu gladly accepted. Muneyoshi then retired from swordsmanship, and eventually died in 1606, by which time their pupil Tokugawa levasu had become shogun.

Munenort continued to serve the Tokugawa to the third generation shogous lemistus, but on the death of Muneyoshi the 'agya' Shinkage-ryù split inot two. His elder son, Munenori's brother, had been severely wounded in battle in 1571 and crippied so badly that he was unable to wield a sword, but as his was the senior line, Muneyoshi passed on to the elder brother's son Toshiyoshi the official inheritance of the Owarl Yagya' Shinkage-ryû, which was to serve the Junior branch of the Tokugawa based in Nagoya. The school of Munenori, based in Edo, became the

#### Yamamoto Kansuke (d. 1561)

Yamamoto was one of the most trusted of the Takeda Twenty-Four Generals'. Renowned as a strategist, he was responsible for the daring plan that culminated in the fourth battle of Kawanakajimia in 1561. Timkingh is scheme had failed he took a spear and charged valiantly into the enemy to make amends by his death.

His banners bore a black device on white, or with colours reversed.

### Yamana Sözen Mochitoyo (1404-73)

Nicknamed the 'Red Monk', Sozen was one of the protagonists in the Önin War.

Edo Yagyū Shinkage-ryū, which he eventually passed on to his son Yagyū Jūbei Mitsuyoshi. There was much rivalry between the Edo and Owari schools over the years to come.

Yagyū lūbei Mitsuvoshi is a mysterious character, and his adventures have spawned many historical novels and films. Most of the legends and inventions revolve around a 'lost' twelve years in his life, when he was abruptly dismissed by the shogun, and later reinstated. His sacking was supposedly for drunkenness, but the lack of evidence, and the complete mystery surrounding his subsequent movements, has led many story-writers to the conclusion that his dismissal was merely a front. Mitsuvoshi is then supposed to have continued to serve the Tokugawa as a ninia, obtaining information for them as he went from province to province on a musha-shugyō, trying to wipe out his disgrace by worthy challenges. The best-known story about his wanderings was a duel with dummy swords (later re-enacted in the film Seven Samurai), whereby Yagyū Jūbei had to kill his opponent to convince him that he had actually won the contest.

There are many memorials of the Yagyū family in the valley near Nara which bears their ancestral name. The family graveyard lies behind the Hotoku-in, but the strangest site of all is the litto-sekl, a huge rock, probably split by lightning, which Yagyū Muneyoshi is supposed to have cut in half with his sword. Behind the rock is a small shrine, where stands a statue of the great swordsman.

#### Yamana Koretovo (dates?)

This son of Sözen abandoned his father's cause for that of his rival Hosokawa Katsumoto

### Yamana Toyokuni (1548-1626)

A descendant of the above, Toyokuni yielded to Hideyoshi in 1580 and retired from active life.

### Yamanaka Shikanosuke Yukimori (d. 1578)

Yamanaka Shikanosuke was a retainer of the Amako family, and is famous for his loyalty to them when they were being destroyed by the Môri. Yamanaka Shikanosuke was captured during the siege of Kozuki castle by the Môri in 1578. He was then executed. His heraldry featured the crescent moon.

### Yama(no)uchi Kazutoyo (1546-1605)

Yamauchi Kazutoyo served Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1590 he received the fief of Kakegawa (Tōtōmi - 50,000 koku). He supported Tokugawa leyasu and received the fief of Kochi (Tosa - 242,000 koku).

For heraldry see below.

### Yamauchi Tadavoshi (dates?)

Tadayoshi was the son of Kazutoyo.

of a 'propeller' in a ring

great standard: a white rain hat

messengers' sashimono: a black and white horo



lesser standard: a tree of little white flags sashimono: a black wreath

#### Yamayoshi Toyouji (dates?)

Yamayoshi Toyouji was one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought on the right flank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His banner was a red sun's disc with a black inscription on white.

### Yamazaki leharu (dates?)

Yamazaki Jeharu served Tokugawa Jevasu.

- banner: the character 'yama' (mountain) in white on black sashimono: the same design
  - ashigaru: two small similar flags standard: a black rain hat
- messengers' sashimono: a black horo with the character in white

### Yasuda Nagahide (dates?)

Yasuda Nagahide was one of the Uesugi Twenty-Eight Generals'. He fought on the left flank at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His banner was a black geometrical design on

His banner was a black geometrical design or white.

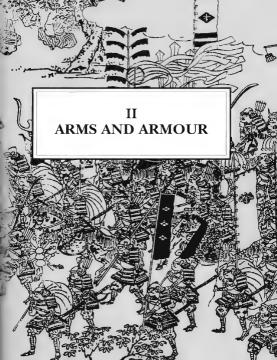
### Yokota Takatoshi (d. 1550)

Yokota Takatoshi was one of the Takeda Twenty-Four Generals'. Takeda Shingen regarded him as setting the standard for the Takeda samurai. He was killed at Toishi castle in 1550, fighting against Murakami Yoshikiyo.

His banner bore a character 'hachi' in black on white

Yüki Hidevasu, see Matsudaira (Yüki)

Yamanaka Shikanosuke Yukimori was the great example of Jospity to the Amoka Jampiy in their struggies against the Mori. This statue of him stands on the stee of Goda castle, which the Mori captured from the Amako. He is shown in the attitude of prayer to the crescent moon, when he sweed to continue the Amako struggie. His helmet has a medicate (crest) of a crescent moon, and deer antiers, taken from his name 'shika' (deer.) He holds a mochi wai short suceral visical of the neriod.



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#### ARMOUR

## The Evolution of Samurai Armour

The fine details of the constituent parts of the typical suit of armour will be described in the section which follows, but here we shall simply outline the most important overall styles as they developed through samurai history.

armour, the Japanese adopted the common Asiatic lamellar styles, and by the twelfth century the samural were wearing armour of a characteristic design. It was made from small scales tied together and lacquered, then combined into armour plates by binding them together with silk or leather cords. Each lamella was of iron or leather. A suit made entirely from iron was far too heavy to wear, so the iron scales were concentrated on the areas that needed most protection. and otherwise alternated with leather.

The separate parts formed the voroi, the classic samurai armour of the Gempei Wars, which provided good body protection for a weight of about 30 kilograms. Its main disadvantage was its rigid and inflexible box-like structure, which restricted the samurai's movement when he was dismounted or using hand weapons from the saddle. The body of the armour, the do, consisted of four sections. Two large shoulder plates, the sode, were worn, which were fastened at the rear of the armour by a large ornamental bow called the agemaki. The agemaki allowed the arms free movement while keeping the body always covered. Two guards were attached to the shoulder straps to prevent the tying cords from being cut, and a sheet of ornamented leather was fastened across the front like a breastplate to stop the bow string from catching on any projection.

twelve plates, fastened together with large projecting conical rivets. A peak, the mabisashi, was riveted on to the front and covered with patterned leather. The neck was protected with a heavy five-piece neck guard called a shikoro, which hung from the bowl. The top four plates were folded back at the front to form the fukigaeshi. which stopped downward cuts aimed at the horizontal lacing of the shikoro. Normally the eboshi (cap) was worn under the helmet, but if the samurai's hair was very long, the motodori (pigtail)

The helmet howl was commonly of eight to



print by Yoshitoshi, which depicts the hero Kaaekado holdina his helmet on the end of his naginata to fool a waiting assailant. His tachi (sword) and tanto (dagger) are securely fastened to his belt. His armour is laced in the kehiki (closespaced) style, using contrasting colours to make an attractive pattern. The tsurubashiri (stencilled leather 'breastplate') is well illustrated. Having removed his helmet, his eboshi (cap) may be seen. He wears heavy iron suneate (lea armour) typical of the Gemnei Wars.

was allowed to pass through the tehen, the hole in the centre of the helmet's crown, where the plates met. Some illustrations show samural wearing a primitive face mask called a happuri, which covered the brow and cheeks only. No armour was worn on the right arm, to leave the arm free for drawing the bow, but a simple bag-like sleeve with sewn-on plates was worn on the left arm.



Arms and armour of the Gempei Wars are well illustrated in this detail from the Kasuga Gongen scroll. The mounted archers hold their bows at the ready with a full dustver of arrows at their belts. One character has used a white cloth to disguise his identity. In the foreground foot-soldiers may be seen. One wears a simple dô mara armour and carries a nuginal. On the right a foot-soldier and a dismounted samurar shelter behind large wooden shields:

Unlike the elite samurat, the foot-soldiers who supported them had to be content with a much sumpler style of armour known as the 66 maru (literally 'body-wrapper'). The 66 (body armour was similar to the yeror in that the weight was taken on the shoulders, but instead of the rigid style of the yorox the 6d maru was more like a short armoured cost, pulled un at the waist by a bebt. The 66 mart fastened under the right armpti.

while a similar design, known as the haramaki, fastened at the back.

The do maru and haramaki styles allowed more scupe for dee dopment than the yoro, and it from the basic design of the do maru that the later from the basic design of the do maru that the later styles of fixes gussoku (modern armound developed). These styles are mans, employing several different and sometimes confusing names. The classification, however, is largely arranged around the following considerations:

- 1. The nature of the lacing by which the parts are held together
  - The number of sections making up the do.
  - The number of sections making up th
     Certain major recognised styles

The evolution from the foot-soldiers' do maru to the samurai's tôsei gusoku began with a redistribution of the weight from the shoulders alone to a more even spread across the waist and hips, a trend that is visible from about the time of the Onin War onward. The horizontal plates of the armour differed in shape or design according to where on the body they fell, producing a more 'tailor-made' effect. Some tapered towards the waist (munatori do). The style of lacing still tended to be the kebiki odoshi (close spaced lacing), so that different styles of these armours were usually distinguished by the number of major sections of which they consisted. Thus we have the straightforward do maru (sometimes written 'manu do') which simply wrapped round the body, the ni mai do (two sections, front and back), and the eo mai do (five sections: front, back, left side and two parts for the right where the armour was fastened). Irozro odoshi referred to multicoloured lacing of the kebiki odoshi, which could be arranged to make a pattern. Alternatively, the armour could produce a very sombre appearance by being covered all over with sheets of smoked leather (fusube kawa).

A further development was to replace the rows made from small individual lamellae laced together with sections made from smaller numbers of lamellee, or een from a single piece of iron. This would save time in manufacture, as would the other innovation of replacing the numerous strands of keblis odoshi with the fewer and more widels spaced sugake doodsh. There are several categories for amounts made by using these methods. The retrained some mono keblis



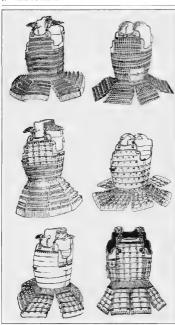




Top left: An illustration from the Gunyöki showing the do of a yora-style armour. The picture shows clearly how the weight of the armour was taken on the shoulders. There would be a separate section for the right side.

Above: The back view of a db maru style of armaur is shown in this print by 'chalhoshi of a samurai playing a bina. The prominent agemaki bow, which hangs from the back of the db and acts as an anchor for the shoulder plates, is well depicted. The samurai's scabbard is covered with tiger skin and the spare bowstring reel hangs beside is. One of his leather yugake farchery glowes! He sa this side.

Left: An armour of haramaks style (opening at the back) laced in multi-coloured kebia odoshi of leather. The helmet is a multiplate construction, typical of the early- to mid-sixteenth century. Shoulder plates and sleeve armour would complete the ensemble.



Styles of tosei gusoku I: From left to right and top to bottom; (i) ni mai dő (a dó maru made in two sections, front and back); (ii) iyozane dö (made from large lamellae): (iii) a form of danage do (mixed lacina) known as a kozane kebiki odoshi koshi tori gusoku; (IV) iyozane hishitoji dő (plates laced with cross knots); (v) vokohagi okegawa dö (horizontal plates lacquered over); (vi) moaami dö (multiplate do with hinged sections).

Styles of tösei ausoku II: From left to right and top to bottom; (i) hotoke do (smooth surface); (ii) yukinoshita dö (largely solid vertical plates); (iii) gaki hara dō (the body of a 'hunary ahost'); (iv) katahada nuai dö thuman form incorpo ratina a monk's robel; (v) nanban dö (European currass incorporated into Japanese armour - this is the example associated with Tokugawa Jevasu): (vi) wasei nanban dö inanban style but of Japanese manufacture, in this case a hatomune dot.



odoshi had the top edge of each horizontal plate shaped in a way; line like a enzurandó (path along a range of mountains). Other styles included the lyozane do, made from scales fitted with almost no overlap, and the dangae dô, which was of ni mai (two-piece construction), and had a body section that was partly laced in kebisi and partly in sugake odoshi. A dangae do with the upper part of kebis doodshi. A dangae do with the upper part of sebis gusoku. If its lower part was kebik it would be called a kozane kebik id odosh koshi tori no gusoku. Nuinobe do is another name for the overall style of armour made from vozane.

A popular variation was the mogami do. This was of multi-plate construction, laced in sugake odoshi, and recognisable by the flanges on top of each horizontal plate. The sections were hinged one to another.

A simpler style was the okegawa dô. Here the amourer would produce the body of the dô, using a certain number of solid plates, but with a bare minimum of lacing or no lacing at all to fasten them together. Simple okegawa dô were made in their thousands for warming by the ashigaru. They would be lacquered and would have the dairnyô's mon applied to the front in colour. These suits were known as okashi gusoku (honourable loan amount).

Samurai too fasoured okegawa do, though of more elaborate finish. The styles of okegawa do depended first of all on whether the separate sections were fastened horizontally (yokohagi do) or vertically (tatehagi do). A yokohagi do might have its plates reveted with the rivets left visible (poyfoij) yokohagi do) or lacquered over to give the appearance of a smooth surface (thotoke 'Buddha' do). The plates might be fastened by horizontal lengths of stitching (munametoji do) cross knots (hishitoji or hishinui do).

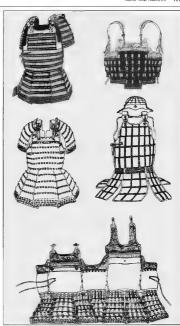
A tatehagt do would tend to look more solld, because each of its vertical plates would probably be a single plate of iron. The best known tatehagt styles are those associated with Mychan Hissae (1573-1615) whose yukinoshta do, named from his home town, provided the basis for several striking styles of armour. Date Masamune equipped his troops in a version of the yukinoshta do called the sendai dd, after the Date capital. The kôshā d6, which took its name from the province of Xal, was which took its name from the province of Xal, was another style made from vertically arranged solid plates that is associated with the Takeda family.

With the airrival of Europeans in Japana, the styles, and office actual pieces of European armour, begin to be seen in Japaneses suits. Called nanaban of gusoku (southern barbarnan armour), they were of two-piece construction and made from sold plate with a pronounced medial line. Japanese armourers took up the challenge to produce their own wasen nanhan do (nanban of Japanese manufacture). The medial ridge gave rise to the description of such a finish as the hatonume do up signon-breasted doi. Some armours produced by these methods were so heavy that they need extra suspenders inside the dô, and were then called renials up the support of the



Right: Varieties of armour: From left to right and top to bottom: (i) do mary (the basic one-piece design in kehiki odoshi): (ii) hara ate (armour for breast, sides and aroin only as used by foot-soldiers); (iii) fusube kawa tsuzumi haramaki (a haramaki covered with smoked leather): (iv) tatami gusoku (folding armour of metal plates joined by mail on a cloth backing, with a collapsible helmet); (v) go mai dö (an exploded view of a five-section döl

Opposite page: This armour mounted on a dummy at the Smithsonian Museum shows a straightforward dö maru, laced like the sode (shoulder plates) in kehiki adashi. The adjustable cords inside the kote (sleeve armour) are well illustrated, as is the patterned leather of the yugake (gloves). The bracket at the front of the helmet for the maedate (crest) and the pole for the sashimono may be seen.



Reference was made earlier to the production of a smooth-surfaced notoke do from the basic okegawa do design. Such a finish allowed the armour maker to indulge m a little whimsy. The most bizarre was the production of do that resembled the naked human body in the form of the protrouting rbs and sagging breasts of a mountain ascetik. The general term is rokedus do (\*ribs do) or nie do, referring to the guardian figures found in temple gateways. A more externe eversion with of the binding places a reference also considered the surface of the binding places a reference as such spirits in Japanese myhology. The katalanda nagi do was a design that incorporated an off-the-shoulder monk's robe by using kebbi doobshi.

A samural's hotoke do could be further embel; ished by embossing the surface with a design (uchidashi do), but such developments belong to the peaceful Edo Period, as embossing weakened the metal surface, a fact brought home by an extant specimen dating from 1681 which included the inscription:

"not of thin metal ... carefully forged using a divine method of forging against arrows and guns by which it is not pierced. Because of this it is a treasure for brave warriors from a military family."

Some suits of armour were sold that proudly displayed dents were they had been tested by having bullets fired at them. Another variety of okegawa do was the roku mai do, consisting of six plates arranged three each as front and back.

As well as the okegawa dô, a simpler armour to produce was the kusari gusoku, otherwise known as the tatami gusoku. Consisting of a series of metal plates linked by mail and on a cloth backing, it did away with the need to lace plates together. The hara ate, seen also on foot-solderse, consisted of a breast and back plate with no skirts, or very, small ones, or even just at presentplate.

A maebiki awase gusoku was an armour that fastened down the front. Although various styles exist, they were not popular because this was the most vulnerable part of the do.

By comparison with earlier styles and their colourful kebiki odoshi, many tosei gusoku styles were very restrained in their appearance, but a tradition developed of setting off a fairly plain suit of armour with an elaborate helmet. The 'court-cap' of Kató Kiyomasa, and the golden



This suit of armour shows several important featurers associated with the Sengoku Period. The a helment is a plain zumart kalaun, which provided a solid deflecting surface for butlets and edged as olid deflecting surface for butlets and edged cross of the surface of the surfa

#### Glossary of terms for major styles of armour byőtoji yokohagi do 李葉標準 kebik, ocoshi ≠, 81€ reniaku dò ≱R# koshi ton gusoku 慶復長日 renzando zane mono 達山道北勢毛引展 dangae do 19 ₩ # káshú dó PHE kebiki odoshi dő maru 📭 a. fusube kawa odoshi haramaki. ■ ● 電車 ● kozane ketiki odoshi 小長長引起 rokkotsu do 政会病 kurokawa odoshi ### Tusube kawa isuzumi haramaki 具言言意志 rokumaidò ∧ 8x #4 kusan pusoku MES sendar do was eaks bara do mumm marbik, awase gusoku #310 m #2 sugake odoshi ♠% # gomai do 五根料 mogami do # 1 # tatamı gusoku # R M harmate # 5 mogamy haramaks 最上 報告 tatami haramaki 五甲基 haramata ma tatchagi dò un m munametou do Arap hatomune do 本有彩 hishimui do ### munators no gusoku MRG RM toser gusoku mit # 2 hishiton do PAS nanhan do RSE uchidashi do 11 m.E nimai dò 二枚級 waser nanhan do #1 W M C # hon kozane kebiki odoshi 本小东西引展 no dò c I ₪ sokohagi dö mism hotoke dó 44.88 numobe do pus Votos 🗱 iroire edeshi 1€ 4 € yukinoshita dö 🖀 / 🛚 🛱 Hamono kebiki odoshi gusoku 延續电引展異常 okashi gusoku 事業異差 okugawa do MINI Nozane do 伊子/雅中原 č∧oros ±£

'catfish tail' of Maeda Toshije are well-known examples. Other helmets sported huge wooden buffalo horns or antlers. The use of coloured lacquers such as red, gold or russet brown also made an armour stand out in combat.

katahada nugi dó AMBE

The final evolution of samural armour occurred during the peaceful days of the Edo Period when wars had ceased. Suits of armour became prestige gifts, carried, but rarely worn, during the long processions to and from Edo. Old styles were revived and modified, producing some spectacular suits of armour that would have been most impractical for fighting in. These trends produced despair among contemporary commentators who still believed that Japan had to be ready for war, and that her armour offered the best protection for a brave samurai.

The construction and details of samurai armour "when he goes forth to war the soldier is prepared for the assault of arrow and gunshot, ready to leap mto fire or boiling water. His dauntless bearing may be due to his loval spirit and his natural courage, but if his armour be not strong he can as all but little "

Thus did the author Hayakawa Kyukei introduce one of the classic works describing samurai armour, summing up the vital necessity for quality. The styles and historical development of the various types of armour worn by samural have been indicated in the previous section. As well as inverall appearance, however, samurai armour consisted of a well-designed number of individual parts, each of which fitted together to make the suit. These items are best described by examining the process whereby the samurai put on his defensive suit of armour, from the inside to the last piece of equipment.

The most detailed description of this process appears in a work entitled Tanki Yoriaku (literally, 'A Single Horseman'i, which has as its subtitle the more useful phrase Hi Ko Ben ('The Art of Armour Wearing'). It was first published in 1735, long after wars had ceased, but the matters it deals with are very pertinent to the samural of the Sengoku Period, because the book describes, in minute detail, all aspects of a samurai's armour from loincloth outwards. Some of its content may be quaint, but it has no rivals in its description of the appearance of Japan's samurat warriors on the battlefield

The first section of Tanki Yoriaku deals with dressing a samurai, and includes all the ordinary equipment to be found. Then come a series of notes on special or unusual items, together with an explanation of various ways of tying on the helmet and face mask. Finally there is advice for 'The Compleat Samurai' as to his practical comfort and behaviour in the battle situation and other areas of military operation. For the convenience of the reader. I have altered the layout of some sections of the original, so that descriptions of parts of armour, or similar weapons, are grouped together, The original translation of Tanki Yoriaku which follows was done by Matt Garbutt in 1912, to which I have added my own notes and explanations.

### Fundoshi (loincloth).

The best material for this is white linen or white cotton. Silk crepe may be used according to one's taste, but plain silk is not suitable. In winter it may be lined with similar material, but in other seasons it is always single. Both ends (or front and back) are hemmed to put cords through. One of the cords forms a loop to suspend the front end from the neck, and the other secures the back end by being tied in front. The length of the fundashi is about 5 shaku

### Shitagi (shirt)

There are several different styles of shitagi, but do not get any fancy ones. The style recommended is just about the same as an ordinary kimono with very narrow sleeves, a little shorter in length and narrower in width, with a few buttons at the breast and a thick tape or cord around the waist. It should be put on as though it were a kimono, the left hand being first out into its sleeve, and then the right, the breast being then buttoned and the waist cord finally tied at the back.



The order of armina. from the Tanki Yoriaku From left to right and top to bottom.

- 1. Fundashi (lainclath):
- 2. Shitagi (shirt); 3. Kohakama
- (breeches);
- 4. Kiahan (agiters): 5. Waraji (sandals):
- 6. Suneate (shinguards). For further details see the accompanying text.

The order of arming, from the Tanki Yoriaku From left to right and top to bottom:

top to bottom: 1. Haidate (thighguards);

Yugake (gloves);

3. Kote (sleeves);
4. Wakihiki (armni)

protectors);

5. Do (body armour); 6. Dwa ohi (helt)

For further details see

the accompanying text.



### Hadagi (another kind of shirt)

This is the same as the usual juban (shirt) about? shaku 4 sun long, and is generally made of linen, cotton cloth or silk crepe. As it is only to be worn in a cold climate, a lined one is better than a single one. The sleeves are very narrow, and sometimes are omitted altogether.

#### Obi (underbelt)

The obi is of white linen or white cotton. Silk is

not good. Ordinary cotton or linen will be folded inition four folds, of which the width of these fabrics is about 16 sun, and will give a belt of shout 45 sun, and will give a belt of the length depends upon the size of the way to the folds of the size of the way to the folds with the folds with the size of the way to the folds with the size of the way to the size of the size of the size of the size of size o

### Kobakama (short trousers)

There are a few different styles, generally a little narrower than ordinary hakama, and of such a length as will reach about 4 or 5 sun below the knees. In nutting them on begin with the left leg. and then tie in succession the back cords and the front ones, tying both pairs in front,

#### Tabi (socks)

There are two chief kinds of socks, kawa tabi or tanned skin socks, and momen-table or cotton cloth socks. There are also momi-tabi fred silk socks). They are very soft, but they are only used by effeminate persons. The kawa tabi, of tanned skin, are often printed in fancy patterns. These are not the best for mounted men. Quilted cotton tabi are generally used, and tabi without soles are recommended for ashigaru. These are worn like ordinary tabi, but you must put on the left one first, and all footwear, such as tabi. kiahan and waraji, must be put on when the wearer is seated

#### Kiahan (gajters)

Kiahan are of the same style as those worn by ordinary travellers. Linen is the best material, but cotton cloth may be used, lined or unlined according to season, but unlined ones are always preferable. The inner cords must be shorter than the outer ones, and it is advisable to tie the cords. always on the inner side of the legs instead of on the front or outer part, otherwise there will be great discomfort when the stiff suneate (shinguards) are put on over the kiahan.

#### Waraii (sandals)

Waraii are of various materials, such as hemp, stalks of myoga (a kind of ginger, Zingiber mioga). nalm fibres, cotton thread, rice straw, etc., and all the materials named last very well. There are also various ways of arranging the cords which tie the waraji to the feet. It is very important to use a nakagukuri or extra tie across the instep, as this will be a great help in marching on steen, snowy or muddy roads, and in crossing swamps or rivers, in any case you must not forget the nakagukuri when marching on hard roads. It is better to have 6 tabs. on your sandals than 5, for then you will not catch pebbles between your sandals and feet when crossing rivers or marching on rough roads. An extra pair of sandals must be carried at your waist; this is quite as important a thing as carrying provisinns

### Supeate (shinguards)

One type, very popular in the Sengoku Period, consisted of vertical plates connected by either hinges or chain mail and often, though not always, lined with textile material. There is always a leather guard attached to the inner side of the place that comes into contact with the stirrup when riding. The more ancient examples of suneate are plate, often with large knee guards attached, and were discarded in the Sengoku Period as interfering with free movement. As usual the left will be put on first, putting the part called abumi-zure towards the inner side of the leg and tving the cords fast.

#### Haidate (thighquards)

Haidate were not known in ancient times but became important in the Sengoku Period when the kusazuri attached to the do (body armour) was reduced. It usually consists of an apron-like piece of cloth, having its lower part covered with small overlanging plates of metal or leather. Occasionally whalebone was used. Some had, in addition to the cord at the top edge, also cords to tie the lower edge closely against the leg. When you have finished putting on all your foot and leg gear, you will stand up, put the centre of the upper edge of the haidate at the front of your body, carry the cords round your waist, and tie them in front upon the middle part of the top edge of the haidate. When you wear haidate entirely under the do you cannot quickly take them off when crossing a river or a swamp, and if you put them over the do your rapid movement will be hindered. A very good way out of this difficulty is to wear them as usual under the do, but to tie the cords outside it. You can then move freely and still take them off quickly.

### Yugake (gloves)

Yugake are made of tanned skin, and unlined ones are recommended. Sometimes they have an inome (a small hole in the conventional form said to be that of the eye of a wild boar) on the

#### THE LACING OF ARMOUR

Commenting upon armour, the great authority of the Edo Period, Sakakibara Kōzan, speaks adversely of suits of armour which have a large quantity of lacing (kebiki odosh) style). He says that when soaked with water they are very heavy and cannot be quickly dried, so that in summer the weight is oppressive and in winter the whole may freeze. Moreover, no amount of washing will completely free the lacing from any mud which may have penetrated it, so that on a long and distant campaign it becomes evilsmelling and overrun by ants and lice, with consequent ill effects upon the health of the wearer. Közan also condemns the heavily laced type as holding the point of a spear or arrow instead of letting it glide harmlessly off; and for the same reason he condemns the repoussé styles of do as mere toys, meant to tickle the fancy of art connoisseurs. The soldiers of fighting times, he says, would have none of them (Garbutt 1912: 143).

A further point to note with regard to the day. In claring of the amount is the choice of the day. In the olden days lacing of the amount is the choice of the day. In the olden days lacing dyed a deep dark blue was very popular. It was called kurst lot, and is seen on many examples, but from the 1570's was seen on many examples, but from the 1570's was produced, and black-laced armour became owned, in Hachiman in Kyōto, jet black day was produced, and black-laced armour became matter in this day was found to weaken the braid, and as an example we read:

"The kusazurt of the armour worn by Sasuke-dono for many days was fastened on with kuro-ito. All his equipment looked splendid in the black lacing, Everyone admired it, the lacquer work was exceptional, and the black dyed equipment was very good. However, because his braid broke he took leather and fastened the kusazurt on with this leather." (Sasama 1968: 159).

palm. In donning these the right should be put on first. This departure from the ordinary rule is because of the superior ability of the right hand and the difficulty of tying cords after covering the left.

#### Kote (sleeves)

As for kote, of these there are many varieties, These sleeves are usually of textile material, often silk brocade, padded, laced with small cords upon the inside of the arm and covered with mail small metal plates, or quilting having small plates of metal or hide sewn inside each quilt. Cauntlets, or covers of metal plates for the back of the hand, are attached to the kote. If you have aigote, in which the two sleeves are connected, but on the left first and when both are on pull the twisted cords forward and tie them firmly on your breast. The small cords attached to the gauntlets should be left loose until all the other arrangements are completed, as your arms and hands will be a little stiffer when these cords are tied fast. Do not pull the laces of the kote too tightly or the movement of the arm will be hampered. Leave them rather loose and tie them at the wrist. Kote with hooks are very uncomfortable. The right kote must always be left until all other parts of your equipment are completed. Kigote is a general term for kote extended or completed by the addition of erisuwari (nadded collar), kara-ate, shoulder pads and wakibiki (armpit protectors). There are several kinds. When shooting, take off your right kote.

#### Wakibiki (armpit protectors)

This should not be confused with the wakidate, which is quite a different thing, I will explain how to put on tsunagl wakibliki. (Tsunagi means connected, the two sides are connected into one piece.) Put your arms through the shoulder loop and then fasten the other cords to the cheet.

#### Manju no wa

This piece consists of shoulder pads, collar and armpit guards (walablak) all in one piece. It must be put on before the do. To put it on hold the sides in your hands, put it over your shoulders and tie the cords at the throat, then button the opening on your chest, pull both walshibit towards the front and button them on the chest.

#### Do (body armour) and kusazuri (skirts)

As will be seen, this piece comprises not only the back and breast plates but also the lammated skirt piece called kusazuri. There are many kinds of do. The reniaku-do is attached with reniaku



The order of arming, from the Tanki Yoriaku From left to right and top to bottom:

- 1. Sode (shoulder awards):
- guards);

  2. Katana (long sword)

  and tantō (dagaer);
- 3. Nodowa (throat protector):
- 4. Hachimaki (head towel);
- 5. Hőate (facemask); 6. Kabuto (helmet). For further details see the accompanying text.

(suspenders) inside it. The tatami-do (folding armour) has an opening on the right side. All kinds of do which open in front must be worn with the right hikiawase (edge of the opening) over the left. Sewart-gusokic (which has an opening at the back) must be worn with the left over the right. This style of do was only worn by rank and file. The

wakidate will be put on before the do. This protects the wearer at the point where the opening of the do occurs, so that it is different from the piece which we call wakidate at present. Setta no yoro is another piece to be put behind the opening of the do; sometimes it is called haramaki. Hato no its and sendan tia are plates on the left and right

sides respectively of the upper part of the breastplate. Fittings of this sort are not put on common suits of armour

The okegawa-do is put on in six stages, as follows:

"1. Sit in the position illustrated.

2. Take the do towards you and onen the hikiawase (the part where the do is made to open at

the side) 3. Take the hikiawase in your right hand and put

the do on your knee. 4. Put your left hand and arm into the do and pull

it until it entirely covers your body.

5. Fold the front part of the hikiawase on to the back part, and then tie the cords attached to the upper part firmly in the knot called hanamusubi (flower-shaped knot).

6. Fasten the cords on the left side of your waist, pulling one towards the back and the other towards the front, passing the back cord through the ring which is attached to the right side of the body, and tying the ends in front. These cords will be best made of twisted cotton cloth, cutting it into halves from ordinary width. Silk cords are made, but are not good for actual use."

#### Uwa-obi (belt. sash)

For this also linen and cotton cloths are recommended wound twice or three times around the body, the actual length depending upon the wearer. Fold the linen or cotton cloth into halves. then twist it and put a little piece of leather in the centre so that you can find the middle of it even when in a dark place. When putting it on, put the centre mark against the front of the do, take the two ends around the waist and to the front again. and after shaking up the do tie the obi in front very firmly in the hanamusubi knot before mentioned.

## Sode (shoulder plates)

Fasten them to the watakamı or suspenders of the do by means of hooks, and fasten first the left one and then the right, in each case the back one before the front. Kosode and okisode (both small shoulder plates) are to defend the kotetsuke (the place left unprotected between the upper end of the kote and the watakami) so that they must be worn in any case. Osode and chusode (large and medium sode respectively) are only worn by important officers.

#### Tantō (dagger)

The limits of the length for the dagger are I shaku 3 sun to 1 shaku 5 sun. This weapon is single edged and has a small wrought iron tsuba (guard). and a short (suka (handle) having a length equal to about the width of the hand. It is put between the helt and the vuruet-itô (cords connecting the do to the kusazuri) and tied there by twisting the sageo around the scabbard of the tanto. The sageo is always a silk cord.

#### Tachi (long sword)

The length of the tach: is about 2 shaku 2 sun to 2 shaku 3 sun. There are many ways of carrying it. An ordinary way is to be the sword edge downwards upon the koshiate, put one end of the cord of the latter around the waist to the front and one towards the back and tie it at the right side. Sometimes people use a longer cord and carry it once more around the body and tie it on the left.

## Nodowa (throat ring, or throat protector)

Some of the varieties of the throat armour are the nodowa, menguriwa, eriwa, and manjuwa. The first is fastened at the back of the neck with cords. the second with hooks, the third with a buckle. The last is fastened to the lower part of the chin of the mask and to the upper part of the breast of the corselet, but it is not a good nattern for use in actual fighting. There are so many shapes and styles that they are all called nodowa. To out on the eriwa hold an end in each hand, put it on your throat and fasten the ends behind your neck.

## Hachimaki (head cloth)

This is to be nut around the head so as to make a padding to receive the helmet. The best material is cotton cloth of either light blue or kaki (reddish vellow) colour, it is usually about 5 shaku in length. To put the hachimaki on comb your hair back and put the centre of the cloth behind your head, then wind it round the head and tuck the ends between the folds.

#### Höate (mask)

The mask has varied greatly at different periods. The twelfth-century happurs covered the temples and the forehead, leaving the rest exposed. Later a complete mask was used and still later the

## THE USE OF THE NODOWA

The Hōjō Godalki provides a vivid illustration of a single combat where the nodowa (throat protector) is shown to be quite efficient in carrying out its purpose:

"In 1564 on the seventh day of the first month, the second of two battles took place at Könodai, in Shimōsa, between Hōjō Ujiyasu and Satomi Yoshihiro, who was helped by Ōta Sukemasa Nyudō Sanrakusai, in which the Höjö forces were victorious. Ota fought desperately and had received two wounds, when Shimizu Tarozaemon, a man noted for his strength, threw down the now wear, Ota, but tried in vain to cut off his head. At this Ōta cried out, 'Are you confused? My neck is protected by a nodowa. Remove it and you can cut off my head.' Shimizu replied with a bow, 'That is most kind of you! You will die a noble death and have my admiration!"

"But, just as he was about to remove the nodowa, two of Ota's young attendants rushed up, and throwing down Shimizu enabled their master to decapitate him." (Garbutt 1912: 146).

forwards.

half-mask, stopping below the eyes and either with or without a nose-piece, was evolved. The mask with a nose-piece is called a menpo. There are about six different styles. They are all to cover the cheeks and chin. A movable nose-piece is best. Whiskers on the mask are not particularly necessary, but it is desirable to have moustaches. Before putting on the mask you must put on a fukusa (a kind of handkerchief) between the mask and chin. then fasten the ends of the cords on top of your head slightly towards the back.

#### Kabuto (belmet)

There are hundreds of different styles of helmets and several different styles of shikoro, the neck guard hanging from the back and sides of the helmet. To put on the helmet:

- "1. Hold the cords under both fukigaeshi (the ears of the helmet) placing your thumbs inside the belmet and all your fingers outside. Lift the belmet above your head, put it on from behind and pull it
- 2. Pull the front loop of the heimet cord and put it
- under your chin. 3. Put both ends of the main cord through the metal rings inside the helmet to catch the cords and pull them upwards.
  - 4. Pull them towards your ears and pass them through the other cords which are arranged inside the helmet

example of armour from a face mask shows how armour was made from separate lamellae laced together. This mece is laced in kebiki adashi (close snaced lacina).

This damaged

- 5. Pull the cords downwards and tie them under your chin
- 6. Twist the ends of the cords which are already tied and then tuck them between the cheeks of the mask "

#### Sashimono (little hanner)

The back of the do carried at the waist-line a socket, and at the level of the shoulder blades a small hinged bridge-piece, having on it a ring, These were to support the sashimono. There are hundreds of different kinds of sashimono, generally made of silk, always having the corners stiffened with little pieces of leather. Sashimono are usually vertical oblones, 3 shaku by 1 shaku, The shaft was passed through the ring on the upper part of the back plate of the do, its lower end put into the socket behind the waist, and a cord attached to the staff was tied around the body. When the sashimono carries the name of a family. or a crest, its front must always have the tabs on its edge through which the staff passes on its left side.

#### Yari (spear)

It is advantageous to use a spear to which you are accustomed, and which you like, and one with a straight blade is recommended by experienced persons. When on horseback carry it resting upon the vari-hasami (spear-rest), which is made of iron or copper. The best style of vari-hasami has a hinge in its centre so as to let it move freely. It should be worn at the right side.

## Kate-bukuro (provision bag)

For ordinary officers, the kind called koshi-zuto is recommended; it is made of twisted paper strings in the style of fine basketwork, and measures about 1 shaku by 9 sun. It is carried at the right side of the waist. Besides this it is advisable to carry another bag in which are 3 or 4 go of raw rice. In cold weather baked rice is recommended because it gives warmth.

## Gun sen (folding war-fan)

These fans have the outer sticks usually of iron. the inner ones often of yellow metal. A light one is recommended. You can carry it at your waist or hang it to the ring on the upper part of the breastplate or fasten it to the cords of the hiki-awase (the opening joint of the body armour), but when in actual fighting do not hang it upon the chest as it is often very inconvenient in using the sword or bow and arrow.

## Uchi-bukuro (money purse)

Some people say this should be carried at the waist or hanging from the neck, but I think these ways are very inconvenient. The best way of carrying money is to paste ichi bu kin (old lananese coins) on a folded strip of thick paper and put it between the collars of the underwear.

The details of a mounted samurai's horse equipment are shown clearly m this illustration from the Zohyo Monogatari. A groom brings water in his own helmet to the tethered horse. It must be an unruly beast as its front leas are fastened with a hand of cloth The saddle, heavy iron stirrups and supply bags are depicted, along with the matchlock nistal in a haister. The twisted rone shows the means whereby the saddle airth could be tightened without dismounting. The lacquered wooden saddle was typical for the whole of samurai history.



#### Yo-bukuro (handkerchief bag) This is to be carried inside the sode or inside the

kusazuri. You can put in it any small things beside your handkerchief. The uchi-bukuro and vo-bukuro can be joined together and hung to the neck by a long cord, in which case they will be put on before the do

Inro and Kinchaku (medicine case and purse) You may carry these on the obt or fasten them to the kurikata of the sword scabbard, but it is not of much use to carry them at all.

### Tenugui (towel)

This is made of white cotton cloth about 3 shaku long. It is carried attached to the ring provided on the do (corselet) for this purpose.

#### Udenuki (sword knot)

It is put through two holes in the tsuba and round the wrist to prevent the sword from dropping to the ground if it slips from the hand. Sometimes this cord is fastened to the head of the sword hilt instead of to the Isuba

## Koshinawa (rope)

About 5 shaku long, the kind called kara uchi no himo is the best for the purpose. Fasten a ring or loop to one of the ends, and carry it either fastened to the sword scabbard or on the right side of the waist tucked under the uwa-obi. This cord is useful in many ways, such as securing a saddle, tethering a horse or binding a prisoner. Sometimes it replaces the helmet cord should the latter be cut.

## Kaginawa (hooked rope)

A thin rope of hemp is the best, about 1 io long. A three-pointed grappling book is attached to one end. This is used when climbing over a high wall, or to secure a boat, or for hanging up your armour when you are resting in camp, and other purposes. It is carried attached to the ring attached to the saddle.

## Naga tenugui (long towel)

Of white cotton cloth about 5 shaku long, carried attached to the sword scabbard. It is used for such nurposes as handaging wounds, carrying provisions, wrapping up a bow or musket, or as a head towel, a tasuki for girding up the sleeves, or in an emergency as a substitute for the sashimono.

## Kubi bukuro (head bag)

A bag made of net to carry the severed head of an enemy. When walking, carry it hung from your waist. When mounted, fasten it from the saddle.

## Projectile ammunition

When going out with an arquebus, fasten the priming flask and bamboo or wooden cleaning rod to a hook attached to the right side of the suspenders of the do. The cartridges and bullets and powder will be carried at your waist. When going out with a bow, fasten your bowstring bag on the breastplate and put a spare ordinary bowstring and a kusune (a softer kind of string) into it. The shiko (quiver) will be carried at the right side of the waist, and the ebira (another kind of quiver) over the left shoulder.

### linhaori (surcoat worn over armour)

The origin of the jinbaori is not known, but it is only a ceremonial garment for use in camp. It has the advantage of giving a more important appearance to the wearer. It is worn when beginning a march, retreating to rest, at inspections, when triumphantly returning, when calling upon anyone of higher rank than oneself, at the assembly of officers, when sent out as an ambassador, etc. Anyone holding an important position must wear it always.

## Sode-jirushi (badge worn in the sode) and Kasa-iirushi (worn on the helmet)

These are used in place of the more cumbersome sashimono in night attacks, ambushes, sea fights and on stormy days. For ashigaru they are used as regimental badges. The length of the sode-iirushi is about 7 to 8 sun, and of the kasa iirushi from 1 shaku to 1 shaku 3 sun. The sode prushi is worn on the right shoulder, and the kasa-jurushi attached to a ring at the back of the helmet. It is necessary to wear them to be easily recognised from a distance.

## Koshi-sashi (the badge of a horseman)

It is made of leather or thick paper, and is about 3 sun square. It is attached by a short cord at one corner to a short stick and carried stuck into the obi at the back of the waist.

## Maedate, wakidate, zudate, and ushirodate

These are helmet badges, like the kasa-jursahi, and are all for the same purpose, but the names vary with their size and the part of the helmet on which they are worn. The little one is called maedate and is worn on the front, the large one is called used as a worn on the front, the large one is called used in sworn on the sound is worn on the bary own at the back. Wakidate are with a worn at the back. Wakidate are was the same and the same an

## Agemaki (decorative tassels)

These are only worn upon armour as decoration, and have no other function. They are usually in the shape of the character  $|\hat{u}|$  (+) but there are other recognised styles, the hito and iri shapes. The colour is generally red, but purple is used by people of higher class. The length when knotted is such as to reach to the waistline when the tops of the cords are fastened to the rings on the back of the shoulders.

## Dansen uchiwa (fan)

This is an important article, carried by officers of high rank, and is used to ward off arrows and stones and also as a sunshade. It is of iron, sometimes solid sometimes on a wooden core

# Zai or saihai (baton of command)

This is also a very important article for directing troops. Every monogashira (captain) and all officers of high rank carry it. To carry it fasten the cord to the ring of the right small piece on the upper part of

In this detail from Tanki Yornaku the samurai's tachi (sword) is slung by having its tying cords wound round the uwa-obi (belt). A spare bowstring reel is attached. The sword cords would be tied at the right side, or doubled back and tied at the left. the breastplate and put your left hand into the cord. When not in use put it at the back of your

## Kegutsu (fur shoes)

Kegutsu and momo-tabi are worn only for interviews with noblemen, as ordinary socks with sandals or bare feet are very vulgar.

#### Nodachi (field sword)

A very long and heavy sword was used from ancient times by very strong men. The limit of extra length of this kind of sword in comparison with the sword usually used by the same man is 25 per cent, i.e. so that if one's ordinary sword was 3 shaku long, the nodesh towoid be 3 shaku? I have a subject to the shoulder of the wast of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast, so that the full will be over the state of the wast.

## Koshiate (sword hangers)

There are several varieties, especially ryō goshiate double hangers). All kinds which are attached with cords will be worn in the same way, but there are two kinds which have no cords and are therefore worn differently, the its goshiate (board loin pad) and wanagoshiate (loop loin pad). Swords may be carried without koshiate by putting them



between the folds of the obi. For use thus the obi between the folds of the obi. For use thus the obi must be wound thirde around the body so that the swoord may be placed over the first and under the swoord may be placed over the first and under the swood and their thurs, the last two being crossed, ascend and their thurs, the last two being crossed. Another way is to put the tachi flong sword edge downwards between the first and serond turns of the obi, twist them across and then put in the table. It is not the same way, the long sword must always be put on first and the daseer afferwards.

#### Shirizaya (scabbard cover)

This is generally made from the fur of tiger, bear or deer. In olden times it was used by all classes but at present only by the higher grades of officers.

## Happuri (head and cheek cover)

There are two types, of which one gives more protection to the cheeks than the other.

# Kusari-katabira (light under-armour made of small chain mail)

This is worn exactly as an ordinary kimono. Rusari gote (chain kote) and kusari-kushan (chain leggings) are also worn like ordinary ones. Kusarut-kush (chain cap) must be fastened under the chin by a cord; there is a hole at the top of this cap to allow the passage of the motodori (queue of hair). The hachimaki or turban containing an iron protection for the forehead is to be put on with protection for its of the hach of side in front and tied at the back of the head can be seen to be taken that it does not become loose;

# Haramaki (belly protector)

This is generally made of silk, lined with the same material, and contains either chain mail or articulated iron plates. It is put on from the front and fastened behind the back with cords.

## Horō (arrow entangler)

There are so many different kinds of horô made to suit the fancy of the wearers that it is impossible to describe all. The sizes vary from five haba (five pieces of ordinary width cotton cioth joined together) to seven haba. Each haba measures about 1 shaku and a five-haba horô is about 5 shaku souare. The number of cords varies from six to twelve. The ollago (basket or framework) also varies. In ancient times it was worm without the staff, it is said to have been invented by Hatadf, and the said to have been invented by Hatadf, and the control of the proper and lower ends of the horo were bordered with brocade, and the centre strip of cloth was lined and had either bonji (sanskrit characters) or the owner's name written in a large scale on it.



In this detail from a painted screen, a sumurai wearing a white hord adjusts his saddle girth. Unlike a European saddle, the girth fastened on top of the horse's back. The hord was a form of stiffened cloak stretched over a hamboo framework. During the Sengolsu Period it was frequently adopted by the tsukai intessengers) so that they were instantly recognisable on the battlefield. His bow is already strung for action, and he has over a strength strung for action, and he has a ramous sleeve only, on his left arm, learning his right arm free for drawing the bow. The details of the saddle and horse furniture are typical of the saddle and horse furniture are typical of the

The staffless horó was secured by seven fasteners, one attached to the eri (upper boufer) a cord at each corner, and a tab at the centre of each side. In putting it to othe eri-fastener was secured to the bordisuke (ring for the purpose on the back of the corselet, then the two upper cords were pulled forward over the shoulders, the tabs being brought under the arms to meet them and the upper cords being put through; the tabs were tied on the chest.

The horo is a very important overcloth of military men. It is very wise to carry laways because it drives away all sorts of calamity and misfortune, and when you are killed on the battlefield the enemy will understand, as they recognise the horo, that the dead man was not a common person, and so your corpse will be well treated. When flighting, the horo must be fastened to the ring which is called horotsuke no kan. When you have killed an enemy who wears the horo, wrap his head, which you cut off, in a piece of his horo,

When anyone is exhausted and decides to de in the field, he must fasten the cord of his helmet to the haigshira, then cut it off to show that it will never be put on again. Also, he must fasten that cord of the horo which is called himo- (probably the centre fastening of the top border) to the horo-fastening ring on the helmet and fasten the cord called anni-itatezu no to the hole in the stirrup. This also shows that he will fight no more. Further, one must cut off the ends of the obi and throw away the scabbard of the sword - this has the same significance.

## Putting on armour quickly

If anyone desires to put on armour quickly in camp, its necessary to prepare in advance, and to make the following arrangements. The kote, sashimono and all other small adjuncts must be secured to the do in advance, and the tatemono (thorns or crest) and kasa-jirushi to the helmet and all hooks and fastenings must be prepared. All articles of minor importance such as suneate, haddate, etc must be omitted.

I will now show you one of the quick ways of dressing. Hang up your armour to the ceiling of the room by a thin hempen rope fastened to the watakami (shoulder straps). The armour must hang at the level at which it will be when you stand erect in it. Now kneel down and rise up into it from below, putting your left hand first into its sleeve and then the right. Then tie the belt which has been fastened in advance to the kurijime no o (cords of the opening of the do). Then put on your helmet and swords.

There is another way. Place your armour upon an armour box and arrange all the attachments in advance. Then kneel down, open the hikiawase, put the left arm into its steeve and your body into the d6, then put your right arm into its steeve, hook the suspenders on the front of the shoulders, tie your obt and put on your swords; then sit down on the armour case and put sandals on your feet. The helmet will be put to late.

There is one more way. When the armour is lying at your side, kneel down on your right knee, take up the armour and place it on your left knee, open the hikawase and put your left arm in fix, at the same time putting your body into the do, then place your left knee no your head for a moment and hook the suspenders, then place your right hand in the right kote, and proceed as before.

## Miscellaneous notes

The technical terms used for parts of armour are frequently variet by different authorities. Most of them have been very long in use, some were taken from the names of inventors or makers of the several details, and others from names of remarkably brave men who used them, and it is very difficult to arrive at the origins of many. Almost all armour made recently is very heavy. This may be good for commanders who are mounted, but it is a great disadvantage for the lower ranks of infantiymen who do the actual flighting. It is advisable for these men not to even too heavy armour, even if they are strong enough to carry it, nor should they were armour of too unusual a kind.

Several medicines and remedies for wounds and sudden illness will be carried in a small packet fastened to the ring of the chigakushi or to the cord of the abiki.

You must also carry a water bottle to contain about one or two go of water. Put this into a net round the waist. Or you may carry some umehoshi (pickled plums), putting them in a small piece of cotton cloth hung to the end of the watakami (shoulder straps).

## WEARING ARMOUR IN UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Difficult fighting conditions required the samural to be selective in his choice of armour, as the following account from the Tanki Yoriaku shows. It also includes some useful tips for comfort in armour

"If you feel pain in your body after removing your armour, put small silk pads 2 or 3 sun square between the armour and the part where you feel pain. When tightening your belt, the best way is to stand upright and shake the do by jumping up and down. If you wish to do it in a resting position, but both knees on the ground and shake the do as before "

When anyone is wounded or not strong enough to wear armour he may go without. We then call him suhada mono, an unarmed one. In such a case the head will be covered with a headband, and the legs by hakama and suneate, and the body with the kigomi-baori (war coat). The badges such as sode jirushi and kasa jirushi must be always carried, so that it may not be said that merely from the absence of armour that one is not a fighting man,

"You must not wear haidate and menpo (mask) when fighting very hard and all unimportant items of equipment are then best omitted. For hard fighters with the sword, the sword handle should have attached to it a sword

knot.

"When attacking an enemy who occupies higher ground than oneself suneate are less important than hoate (mask) but the reverse is the case if the enemy be upon lower ground in which latter case too such missile weapons as the arquebus and the bow and arrows have advantages over the sword, spear or naginata. The last-named weapons are superior to missile weapons in an attack upon an enemy occupying higher ground. Thus the choice of weapons depends upon distance and situation.

"When crossing rivers and swamps it is advisable to take off haidate and suneate and to lift up the kusazuri and fasten them up. As to the sandals, an extra tie should be put in the centre, For muddy swamps put extra

bamboo bottoms and little hoops to your sandals so that you will never be caught by sticky mud. "When climbing over a high wall take your mask off and place your sword vertically. Put your arm in the sword

knot, making it as long as possible, and use the tsuba for a step. "For fighting in a boat, put on only the do and helmet and take off all other pieces, such as the kote, etc. and

carry small sode jirushi (sleeve badges) instead of the horo, sashimono, kamidate and wakidate. "When you fall down wearing armour, cross your legs to stand up again, or you may spring up from a kneeling

position. "When you feel tired, giddy or hot, lift up the do of your armour a little and rest it on your under obj so as to

reduce the weight on your shoulders, and have a rest for a while.

"When you are sweating heavily in very hot weather, untie the takahimo, unhook the aibiki and pull the breastplate forward and wipe yourself slowly.

"If you want to drink water without taking off your mask you can drink by using an arrow for a tube.

"When you desire to march noiselessly in the case of a night attack, wrap your knee protectors with the lower nart of the hakama, but a gag in the mouth of your horse and bind the bridle with a piece of cotton cloth,

"When putting socks and sandals on in camp, sit on an armour box, and if that is not available, upon some other object raised from the ground.

"In encampment it is always wise to carry a towel fastened to a ring on the do and dip it in cold water to wet your mouth for refreshing yourself," (Garbutt 1912: 180).

Carry also some powders mixed with kunroku la sort of perfumel beneath the underwear. It will keep off all sorts of insects, of which there are some quite poisonous ones.

When you take off your armour and weapons begin from the top and work downwards, and from the right to the left.

Armour boxes are best made of light wood. Kiri (paulownia) and hinoki (pine) are very good but harinuki (papier-mâché) is better than either. Make them up so that they can be attached to the two ends of a pole carried on the shoulders, but they can also be piled up and carried on the back by means of a cord instead of a pole.

Great care must be taken in selecting all armour and weapons, for the relative advantages and disadvantages of different kinds, and qualities and systems are great.

## Ashigaru armour and general equipment

that was similar to that of the samurai, but of much simpler design. In a letter sent on 5 May 1596 by Ankokuii Ekei to Môri Terumoto, we read a reference to the existence of rules for ashigaru equipment:

"The teppő-shû (firearms company) have armour. This is in accordance with the regulations "

By the end of the Sengoku Period there were few families not sensible enough to supply armour to the ashigaru, but on the Ösaka screen and the Shimabara screen, which are major contemporary sources, fighting men may be seen not wearing armour. For the arquebus corps, who were always in close proximity to an enemy attack. armour was a necessity. Most families armoured all their troops, as indicated by the Zöhvö Mono gatari where Matsudaira Nobuoki's ashigaru used okashi gusoku (honourable loan armour) with the family's mon on front and rear. This mon was the main means of identification or as an alternative they carried sashimono on the back. These were usually two or three flags, identical in design to the flags used by samurai, but much smaller, as in Bukō Zakki:

"Although the ashigaru were moving under cover through the thicket, the enemy could see those who were wearing sashimono."

Ashigaru would not normally wear either sode (shoulder guards) or suneate (leg guards), and instead of a helmet there was the simple iingasa. The jingasa could be of soft leather, but on the battlefield an iron hat was best because it could then be used as a cooking pot. In Meiryo Kohan we read:

"A thin iron jingasa is good, at the same time one can cook one's meals in it "

The teppo ko gashira (arquebus lieutenant) was distinguished by carrying a red-lacquered hamboo stick inside which was a spare rampod. The yumi ko gashira wore a quiver on his back, and the vari ko gashira carried a short spear, but their equip-



This illustration from the Zöhyö Monogatari shows a member of an arquebus squad with his weapon. His spare ramrods, a vital necessity, are thrust through his belt wrapped in cloth. A long fuse is wrapped round his left forearm, and his two loan swords are thrust through his belt under his armour

ment was otherwise the same. The lingasa bore the family's mon, and hanging from it was a sunshade in the form of a cloth. The swords were worn under the armour, and there were close fitting trousers and waraii (sandals). A long strip of cloth was divided into twelve spherical sections for provisions, and slung round the body.

The archer ashigaru's spare bowstring hung on the left side, with the quiver hanging from the right and the bow carried in the hand. The spear ashigaru had several types of scabbards, with spear lengths up to three ken. Besides these the flag-carrying ashigaru had a leather pouch on the right side, or a tube on the back. Flags in olden times were carried at the front but from the Sengoku Period many were carried on the back. The larger uma-tirushi (standard) bearers were equipped similarly, with the carrying tube on the back. The bow carriers for the high-ranking samurai had a bow and replacement on a bow stand carried at the shoulder. Spear carriers. sandal bearers and grooms were similarly attired, and those employed as baggage carriers, drum carriers, conch blowers and so on had armour, but ashigaru below these ranks for the most part wore breeches and shirt, a haori and a short sword with a jingasa.

The process of arming an ashigaru was very similar to that of a samurai. Beneath the underwear was a fundoshi, then a shirt cut off at the knees (like tight-sleeved underwear) and trousers. tied at the knees and at the ankles by cords, and gaiters might also be worn. An uwa-obi was tied tightly around the waist. They would have a bag for personal use, while everyone had handkerchiefs under the armour. Next, a rolled-up long cord like a tasuki was tied up on the right side. and a pair of simple kote worn. Waraji (straw sandals) were worn on the feet, but on swampy or damp ground in the vicinity of water, footwear was not used. The large and small swords (in most cases just the large one) were put into the uwa obj. The smaller was adjusted to breast height, while the katana was put on the left side. Most swords were loan equipment.

The body armour was then put on. The high cords were brought together, and the cords that pull against each other were tied, the winding cotton cord was also tied and folded under the armour so that it would not come untied in battle Next the provision bags were tied and the iingasa was put on. A head cloth or towel, useful on the battlefield, was wound round the head under the iingasa. Besides this the firearms group had leather pouches, the archers a quiver, and others various equipment. To protect from rain they might have a nadded cloth haors, tied at the cuff with a cord. Sleeveless haori were also worn. In the bags might be paper, medicine, umeboshi, pepper grains (as antidotes to poison) and small change. and there are also cases where writing brushes and small knives are put in, and also cord, etc. In the Zöhvő Monogatari red peppers and so on are recorded to ward off the cold

In the Shutsuhi nimotsu kantei (Regulations for baggage transport) of the Edo Period, there occurs the following list of ashigary equipment to be taken along. Samurai would of course require much more transport for their more elaborate needs. The table below notes the weight (explained in the separate section in weights and measures), and the number of items:

kawa gusoku (leather armour)	1 kanme	2
kimono	320 monme	1
katabira (light kimono)	150 monme	i
hanri	130 monme	i
kama (sickle)	75 monme	l item
nata (hatchet)	80 monme	1
kokera kami	400 monme	2
(shingle paper)	400 monnie	2
irotatsu mushiro	450 monme	2
(straw mat)	450 monine	2
hoshiki (thin cord)	400	0.1
	400 monme 70 monme	2 lengths
noko (saw)		
kappa (raincoat)	390 monme	1
hanagami		2
(handkerchief paper)		
hinawa (fuse cord)	50 monme	5
hiuchi (tinder)	8 monme	1
tsuigi (kindling wood)	10 monme	5 bundles
kushi dogu	25 monme	1
(comb tool)		
suito (water bottle)	130 monme	1
mizusu (water	3 monme	1
sucking tube)		
meshi zuto	10 monme	1
(food bag)		
tenugui (towel)	9 monme	1
3-shaku tenugui	13 monme	1
(3 feet long towel)		
kudakasa (roll-up	45 monme	1
sedge hat)		
koshi kohana	20 monme	1
(basket for the waist)		
talenta and the measur		

25 monme

kakuhan (gaiters)

momohiki		monme	1
(close-fitting trousers)			
waraji (sandals)	16	monme	2 pairs

Total 4 kanme 226 monme

including 548 monme

carried by oneself 3 kanme 800 monme by packhorse

## SAMURAI COSTUME IN PEACETIME

The clothes a samural would expect to wear when not in amour changed very little throughout history. The samural of the Gempel Wars were men whose proficiency in riding horses was almost a badge of rank, and this is shown in the court costumes of the time, where the clothes have gathered trousers which would be suitable for wearing in the saddle. The sword, known as a tach, was slung from a belt, and carried with the cutting degle downwards. To draw this weapon the samural would have to hold the scabbard with his left hand. This would not be a particularly fast movement, and illustrates the primacy of the role of mounted arrier above that of swordsman.

The major change noticeable during the Sengoku Period was that when the samurai was not in armour the sword was now worn with the cutting edge uppermost, allowing a devastating draw that could disable an opponent in one stroke. This long sword (katana) was also accompanied by a shorter weapon known as the wakizashi, and possession of this pair of swords (daisho) was to be the distinguishing mark of the samurai class until their abolition in modern times. The clothes worn with the daisho would depend upon the degree of formality of the occasion. The basic male dress was the kimono, a long, wide-sleeved garment like a dressing gown. reaching to well below the knee. It was sometimes worn over a similarly shaped undergarment that showed at the neck. It would be held in at the waist by a long sash-like belt which was wrapped two or three times round the body before being tied at the front. Into this belt the samurar would thrust his katana and wakizashi



rns musticulor silves a cruger, where the word means a low-ranking carrier, not a fighting man. He has two poor-quality loan swords. His ration bags are tied round his body.

The kimono would suffice if the samurai was off to enjoy himself on a summer's evening, and probably all that he would wear underneath it would be a fundoshi (loincloth). Otherwise he would wear in addition a pair of hakama, the characteristic samurai trousers. The hakama were rather like a divided skirt. They were stiffened and had a low crotch with large openings at the side, and were held in place by two sets of ties at the front and rear, which fastened around the waist. The hakama came to the ankle, and when these were worn, the swords would still be carried in the belt below. On his feet the samurai would wear the type of socks known as tabi, which had a separate compartment for the big toe. The tabi might be omitted in summer, but the samurai would never go barefoot out of doors. He would usually wear straw sandals called waraji or zori, or sometimes a pair of geta, the high wooden clogs made like a platform. Geta would never be worn if there was a chance of danger, because quick movement in them was very difficult. As is indicated in many Japanese movies, the samura had to be ready to fight at a moment's notice, and when danger threatened he would speedily perpare his loose lothing for the fray. The hakama would be batched up inside the belt, thus allowing the legs free movement, while the seleves would be tied back with the lassid, a narrow sash that was back. An experienced swordsman could perform both tasks in a few seconds.

For more formal occasions such as guard duty in a castle, the samurai would augment the hakama with a jacket called the kataginu, thus making a combination costume called a kamishimo (upper and lower). The kataginu was a curious form of jacket with no sleeves, in which the shoulder and back were quilted and stiffened so that they stood out like wings. The kataginu would be of the same colour as the hakama, thus forming a distinctive uniform that contrasted with the bues of the kimono beneath. A decorative, yet very important feature of the kamishimo was the use of mon stencilled on to the front straps of the kataginu, the middle of the back of the kataginu, the sleeves of the kimono and the top rear of the hakama. Alternatively, a looser jacket called a haori could be worn instead of the kataginu. The haori would hang over the sword scabbard, giving the samurai a characteristic appearance as he walked along The hakama were not very suitable for a mounted man, so he would change into kobakama, the tighter-fitting type of trousers. Contemporary illustrations also show kobakama being worn by men on foot on the sankin kôdai, the regular trips to Edo which the daimyo were required to make to pay their respects to the shogun.

On very formal occasions such as an actual presentation to the shogun, a dairnot would be expected to wear the nagabakama. These were extremely long frousers that trailled on the floor behind the wearer. It was considered a mark of good breeding simply to be able to move in them, a feat that required supreme co-ordination. It also ensured that a samural wearing nagabakama would find it impossible to perform an assassination, or at the very least to run away afterwards.

One important aspect of the samurai's appearance was the dressing of the hair, a matter upon

which much care and attention was lavished. To even the lowliest samural, having a single hair out of place was a disgrace. Woodblock prints often make this point by showing the desperate and defeated samural in battle with his dishevelled hair streaming in the wind. It became customany during the early sexteenth century to shave off the hair from the from part of the head. This had originally been intended to provide comfort when wearing a belient but by the end of the century it had become a mere whim of fashion. The tonsured portion of the head was called the sakayski, and what hair remained was drawn back into a motodori (queue or nitatila on the back of the head.)

There were two ways of making this queue. One was called chasen-gami, because of a fanciful



In this detail from the Ethon Taikoki a samurai is shown wearing the kamshim, the official dress of hakama (trousers) and kataginu (winged jocket), over a dismon diri hair is tred back and his two swords are at his side, although the katana is sluing rather than thrust through the belt. Note the mon on his costume. His hair has been showd from the front of his head, and the pigtali is gathered in a small chasen-gami (tea whisk) style. Japanese tea ceremony. It involved coiling a piece of string round and round the lower half of the motodori so as to make it strick out in a tuff like a shaving brush. The other style, which was more common, was to gather the oiled hair into a long, narrow, cylindrical queue at the back of the head, bend it forward and then back again and tie it in place. This style was called intustion, or threefold. A variation on this style was called furtatsu ori, where the queue was bent forward only over the sakayaki. The end of the queue, however it was made, would be neatly trimmed with a razer.

Young samural, however, did not trim the forelock. This unshaven part was trimmed to make a triangular shape, and was regarded as a feature of great beauty among young boys. Some samurid did not shave the head at all, but had all their hair combed back. Tokugawa leysus spoke against paractice because he reckoned it spoiled the look of a head when it was cut off.

#### BOWS AND EDGED WEAPONS

#### The Japanese bow

To the first samurai, prowess with the bow was rated as of far greater importance than skill with a sword, and the later mystique of the Japanese sword had yet to be created. In fact they referred to their calling as 'The Way of Horse and Bow'. Archery has a long history in Japan, and there are references to mounted archers as early as AD672. in the chronicle called the Nihongi. The design of the traditional Japanese bow which the samurai wielded was very similar to that used today in the martial art of kvůdô. To limit the stress on the bow when drawn, the weapon had to be long, usually six shaku, and wound round by one shaku of rattan, and because of its use from horseback it was loosed from one-third of the way up its length.

To obtain the power needed in a war bow while retaining a cross-section of reasonable proportions, it was necessary to adopt a laminated structure. The bows in the Gempei Wars were of deciduous wood backed with bamboo on the side furthest from the archer. Later on, the performance was enhanced by adding an additional facing of bamboo. The rattan binding reinforced

the poor adhesive qualities of the glue used to fasten the sections together, but as the glue could also be weakened by damp, the whole bow was lacquered to weatherproof it.

Sowstrings were of plant fibre, usually hemp or ramie, coated with wax to give a hard smooth surface, and in some cases the long bow needed more than one person to string it. Techniques of drawing the bow were based on those needed when the bow was fired from the back of a horse. In this traditional way the archer held the bow above his head to clear the horse, and them moved his hands apart as the bow was brought down, to end with the left arm straught and the right hand resulted from hours of practice on ranges where the arrows were discharced at small wooden.

## ARCHERY IN THE SENGOKU PERIOD

Although spears and arquebuses may have dominated the bautlefield during the Sengolus Period, skill with a bow and arrow was still prized, and could be very useful in the battle situation. The Hosokawa-K, from which the following section is taken, illustrates several other points as well – a commander leading a charge, a skilled archer, and the hazards presented by armour:

Matsunaga Danjō Hisahide was encamped on Mount Shoguniizo and on the 9th day of the 6th month of the first year of Eiroku (1558) launched an attack with an army of 5000 soldiers against Rokkaku Yoshikata of Ömi. Both sides attacked each other and fought their hardest for many days, but finally the forces from Omi were vanguished and fifty-three men were killed. Seeing the chance of winning. Matsunaga led his troops in an attack on the retreating soldiers, shouting, 'I am Matsunaga Daniö Hisahide!" At that a famous archer named Chikurin among the Ömi troops aimed at him and shot. Whether because of Matsunaga's luck or because the monk Chikurin's string caught his chest armour, the arrow missed its mark and hit Matsunaga's horse. The horse collapsed, but Matsunaga survived as he jumped down on the left side.

targets while the horse was galloping along. This became the traditional art of yabusame, still performed at festivals. The archer, dressed nowa days in traditional hunting gear, discharges, the bow at right angles to his direction of movement.

The bow has an honourable place in the history of the samurai fighting arts. For example, take the Azuma Kagami account of the Shökyü War of 1221:
"Thirty court warriors made a stand, raining

"Inity court warriors made a stand, raining arrows on the Easterners from behind their shields... As Hatano Gorō Yoshishige stepped out, he was hit in the right eye. His senses reeled, but he was able to shoot an answering arrow."

There are many other incidents of skill with the bow and arrow, notably the here/uclan Minamoto Tametomo, who is credited with using a bow and arrow to sink a ship belonging to the Taira by hitting it just below the waterline. At the battle of Yashima in 1184 the Taira hung a fan from the mast of one of their ships and invited the Minamoto to shoot it down, hoping thereby to persuade them to waste precious arrows. Nasu Yochih hit the fam with his first arrow, even though he was on horseback in the water and the boat he was amine at was rockine on the waves.

Nasu Voichi's feat illustrates the fact that archery while wearing armour was a more difficult proposition than vabusame. The targets to be fired at in battle did not usually remain static, and the design of the armour also meant that the angle of fire was considerably restricted. Nevertheless, no account of early samural warfare is complete without a description of an archery duel. In the twelfth century the bow would be used at the start of a set-piece battle, which would begin by the firing of signal arrows high into the air over the enemy lines. Each arrow had a large, bulb-like perforated wooden head which whistled as it flew through the air. The sound was a call to the kami (the Shintó gods) to draw their attention to the great deeds of bravery which were about to be performed by rival warriors. The samurai would then commence a fierce archery exchange, with varving degrees of success, and then one or more feats of individual combat by élite warriors until the battle became general.

The bows used later in history by the ashigaru were identical to the samural version. By the Sengoku Period, the use of bows from horseback by samura was a comparatively rare event, but the bow still had the asymmetrical hand-gpn, and was fired in a smilar way. Alternatively, and more common with ashigaru on a heated battlefield, was a technique of firing, a bow that began with the bow held horzontally and level with the waist. To release, the fingers supporting the thumb were relaxed, at which the bow, having discharged the armo, rotated in the hand so that it ended with the string touching the outside of the bow marn. The arrows were of bumboo. The mock was cut just above a node for strength, and three fletchines fitted

#### The samural sword

In the popular mind, the notion of the samural and his sword are inseparable concepts. Tokugawa leyasu, after all, reminded his descendants that the sword was the soul of the samural, and the possession of two swords, the long katana and the shorter wakizashi, was both the samural's badge and shorter wakizashi, was both the samural's badge and ways. the technological achievement of sword making, and the equally superb achievement of sword flighting.

Historians of swordsmanship have always been divided over the relative merits of swords that were designed as cutting weapons and swords that were used for thrusting. All, however, are agreed that among swords primarily intended as cutting weapons the Japanese sword stands supreme. This was partly due to the curvature of its blade, which allowed the very hard and very sharp cutting edge to slice into an opponent along a small area, which would then open up as the momentum of the swing continued, cutting through to the hone.

The other very important characteristic of the samural sword is indicated by the fact that it is a two-handed weapon, held by a warrior facting squarely on to his opponent. The samurai never used shelds. Instead the katana became both sword and shield, providing a unique example of a sword used defensively as well as offensively. Such techniques were not seen in Europe until the late sixteenth century, when rapier styles ecoled to include blocking and parrying as well as thrusting, and the buckler was abandoned.

The defensive use of the samurai sword depended upon the immense strength and resilience of the sword's body and its broad back. This enabled the samural to deflect a blow anned at him by knocking the attacking sword to one side with the flat of the blade and then following up with a stroke of his own. Contemporary swords from other cultures would have broken if such a practice had been tried – a superiority in Japan as edesign that was first illustrated during the Mongol imassions.

The subtle combination of the strength and suppleness required for the sword's defensive abuptleness required for the sword's defensive and suppleness required for the sword's defensive at exchanical and metallurgical achievement that a technical and metallurgical achievement that quite astonishing, given the lack of knowledge on the part of the swordsmiths, of the underlying the swordsmiths, of the underlying the swordsmiths of the process. Scientific Rowledge, however, was hidden in the long welfar knowledge, however, was hidden in the long welfar swordsmiths.



This print by Kuniyoshi from the series Tankeki EpiAden shows a samural identified as Ishikawa Sadatomo fighting to the last at the battle of Shizugatake in 1583. He has lost his helmet, and lifts his sword in the classic two-handed grip above his bloodstained armour from which enemy arrows protrude. The edge of his blade is chipped from the activity to which he has subjected it. of experience and practical experimentation that produced the process outlined below.

The Japanese sword was of duplex construction, and consisted of a selectively hardened cutting edge embedded within a softer and springier body to give resilience. For these two parts the swordsmith required a small bar of wrought iron and a similar bar of tool steel. The early swordsmiths were probably iron smelters as well as swordsmiths, and would produce the materials required from iron ore, mixed with crushed charcoal and heated by the burning of charcoal. The smelting operation lasted for four days, at the end of which the furnaces were broken up and the metal extracted. The lump of crude iron so produced, called tama hagane, would be heated and flattened under a hammer, to produce a number of flattened platelets. A pile of these plates, coated with a flux made from clay and powdered whetstone in a thin slurry, would be forged out into a heavier piece of steel as a sword bar of about 12 cm by 14 cm and about 2 cm thick. The tool steel for the sword edge and outer zone was called uagane

The shingane (soft iron core) was produced in a similar manner, except that it was exposed more often and longer to the air at a high temperature, so that it would lose almost all of its carbon. When a pile of platelets had been forged to a single solid plate, it was deeply grooved, folded over and again hot forged so that the surfaces welded tightly together. Such folding and reforging was repeated, with the traces of the original pieces becoming thinner and thinner. Two bars, one of uagane, the other of shingane, were forged in this way. It is thought that at times the composite bar was refolded sometimes longitudinally and sometimes crosswise, perhaps alternately. The great swordsmith Masamune used four bars of steel, each welded and doubled five times to make 2 to the power of twenty laminations, or 4.194.304 layers. The maximum ever recorded was 30 folds. The number of laminations resulting from this process would therefore be 10,736,461,824 layers, each one like a tiny sword blade!

With the two grades of steel at his disposal, the swordsmith was now in a position to combine the laminated steel for the core and the quench-hardening tool steel for the exterior. The simplest way was to weld a piece of shingane material on to a plate of uagane, the former being slightly smaller to ensure that it was fully enclosed, and then to fold the two-layered material together with the soft steel inside Another method was to insert a har of soft tool steel into a forged U-shaped trough of tool steel, and then to close it and thereafter forge them. Some swordsmiths used more complex combinations. This bar, elongated on the anvil and fairly well shaped towards the contour of the final blade, was then slowly cooled (for softness) and brought to nearly its final shape by a kind of hand scraper that was pushed along the blade rather than being pulled. When this process reached the stage where the only metal that needed to be removed would be what would come

## TSUKAHARA ROKUDEN -THE WANDERING SWORDSMAN

One popular image of the samurai is that of the wandering swordsman, travelling from place to place, fighting duels, then wandering once more. There were many individual samural during the Sengoku Period who held that status through no fault of their own. The ronin, literally 'men of the waves', were samurai who had no master to serve owing to the destruction of their clan in battle. the disgrace of their master, or personal dismissal. Most ronin did not wander for long. but found employment with ease as daimyo competed for good-quality men to defend and expand their territories.

Other 'wandering swordsmen' of history were kengő (master swordsmen) like Kamiizumi Nobutsuna or Mivamoto Musashi, who went on a musha shugyŏ, or 'warrior pilgrimage' to improve their skills. It was akin to the common Japanese practice of making long religious pilgrimages to distant parts, thereby obtaining spiritual enlightenment through endeavour and personal discomfort. Probably the earliest recorded musha shugyō was performed by a certain Haneo Unno who lived between 1509 and 1579; but perhaps the most famous name to become a wandering swordsman was the celebrated Tsukahara Bokuden (1490-1572). There are few written accounts of his life, but a lively oral tradition tells us that he was born in 1490 in Kashima, in Hitachi province. His father combined the professions of samurai and Shinto priest, the latter vocation being based at the Kashima shrine where was enshrined the spirit of a god of martial arts. It is therefore not surprising that the young Bokuden was trained from an early age in sword-fighting skills.

At the early age of 17, Bokuden's adoptive father gave him permission to set out on a musha-shugyō, and among those whom Bokuden defeated was a renowned swordsman called Ochiai, Bokuden spared his life, but it was such a disgrace to Ochiai to have been defeated by this young upstart that he lay in wait to murder him. and on their second encounter he was killed by a rapid stroke of Bokuden's sword. Following his initial musha-shugyō. Bokuden had to take his place in the armies of his daimyo. Rokuden fought in 39 separate engagements, and was involved in single combat 19 times. He was apparently very good at singling out enemy commanders and killing them.

By the age of 37, he had formed his own unique style of sword fighting, which he named the Shinto-ryū. On his second musha-shugyō he was invited to Kyōto to teach keniutsu (sword fighting) to the Ashikaga shoguns, the greatest commission any kengo could receive. When he went on his third musha-shugvo he was attended by 80 followers. It is believed that his secrets were passed on to Kitabatake Tomonori, the daimyo of Ise province and his trusted pupil, who was charged with initiating Bokuden's son into them when the boy was old enough. Tomonori did in fact pass them on to Bokuden's heir, but when Bokuden died in 1571 at the rine old age of 81 his successors became the victims of forces far beyond the control of an individual swordsman. The Kitabatake suffered from the expansion into Ise province of Oda Nobunaga. and Tomonori died defending his land. It is not clear whether he was killed on the battlefield or murdered by treacherous retainers, as accounts differ. Nor is anything known of the fate of Bokuden's son, apart from a few fascinating legends about him joining the ninja of Iga.

off when the finished blade was sharpened and polished, the most interesting process in the forging now took place. This was the heating and selective quench hardening. In other words, only part of the blade, the cutting edge, was hardened.

To do this, the smith coated the whole blade in a stiff paste of (aya md sater. The insulating clay was removed from the edge of the blade only, to a distance of a few millimetres. The remaining clay was dired and the whole blade brought to the uniform hardning temperature. This was a difficult process, particularly for a long sword. It was then quickly immersed in a rough of water having the temperature acquired during the first humar crack off, hardening was accomplished only within the desired zone, and in a pattern on the metal surface determined by the manner in which the clay was removed. Some smiths would choose a particular design of wavy) lines as their hallmark.

The hardened blade was carefully examined, and if no cracks or faults were found, the long process of polishing would begin. The first removal of scale and metal was done by rubbing on a very coarse abrasive stone. At this point, the curvature of the blade could be adjusted by heating the back of the blade and pressing it against a copper block. Polishing continued with a succession of finer-grained stones until the final polishing was undertaken, a matter over which much secrecy was maintained. This would produce a brilliance in the characteristic wavy line known as the yakiba, where the hardened and unhardened steal erases met.

The hardened cutting edge could then be sharpened to produce a cutting surface that was without parallel anywhere in the worfd, and the whole blade was mounted in a handle to produce the weapon that is so familiar today. A susha feword guard protected the handle, swhlle cord twisted round the handle gave a secure grp. When civilian dress was worn, both swords would be thrust through the belt, but as this was impractical when wearing amour, the latana was slung from a belt or a koshiate (sword carrier in much the carried in civilian dress is up carried in civilian dress is up carried produced to the control of the



The devisating cutting power of a japanese sword, which in the right hands could cut through an iron belimit bowl, is visidly illustrated in this picture of the samural Wakiya Vokinsuke, who was the brother of Nitta Yashisada and died in 1340. His strong downwards cut, using the full power which could be given to a two handed weapon, has allowed the blade to dig deeply into his opponent's head.

Testing of swords was carried out to confirm that they had the correct balance and would cut effectively. The cutting test was sometimes carried out on live bodies in the form of condemned criminals, but far more common was to have the sword's power tested on corpses, or on bundles of rushes bound around a hamboo core. A cornse was sometimes hung up and cut through either sideways or downwards. Alternatively, corpses could be piled up on sand and cut through, and as many as seven are said to have been severed by one sword stroke from a superior blade. Although we may assume that outside the battlefield situation the samurai sword left its scabbard on mercifully fewer occasions than Japanese movies would have us believe, the weapon was deadly in the hands of a master. To

The use of swords and spears is illustrated here in two panels from a triptych print showing the fighting by moonlight during the Iga vendetta of 1634. In the foreground stands Araki Mata'emon, wielding his two swords, the katana and the wakizashi at the same time. The samurai kimono or haori (iackets) have their sleeves ned back with a tasuki (sash), and their hakama (trousers) are pulled through their belts to leave their leas free for movement. The natterns on sleeves and body may indicate rudimentary armour beneath the clothes.



kill in one stroke from the samural's belt was an ideal perfected by more than one expert in handling this most perfect of edged weapons.

## Samurai and ashigaru polearms

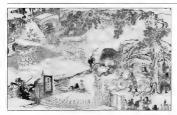
At the time of the Gempel Wars, the use of oppoderam was largely confined to the employment of naginate by foot-soldiers. These weapons, the laganese glaive, were like an enormous sword blade on a long wooden shaft, and were particularly fawoured by the soheli. By the beginning of the Sengoku Period, however, the mounted samurai archer had been replaced by the spear-wielding samurai cavalryman, whose devastating charges were to be put to such good effect by the Takeds at Mikkat age Hara in 1572. Further details of their use on the battlefeld may be found in Chapper III.

For much of the Sengoku Period, the most common ashignar weapon was the long spear. The shaft was of composite construction, with a core of hardwood such as oak, surrounded by laminations of bamboo. The whole shaft was lacquered to weatherproof it. The early spears were the same length as the samurai ones that were used from the saddle, i.e. about 3 or a metres. However, there was a noticeable lengthening of the shaft of the satisgari weapon as the century progressed and the successful dainyô realised the value of their use as under the same shaft of the satisfaction of the same shaft of the same sh

usually about 3 ken. At the start of the Sengoku Period, one ken was equivalent to 1.6 metres (the dimensions changed later to 1.8 metres), so the length of the spear shaft would have been 4.8 metres. The Takeda used a nagaeyari shaft of 3 ken. Hesugi Kenshin used a shaft of 52 ken, while ken. Useugi Kenshin used a shaft of 52 ken, while this successor Kagekatsu used 3 ken at about the turne of Sekigahara, as did Toyotomi Hiddeyoshi. The Tokugawa also used a 3 ken shaft. Oda Nobunaga used the longest spears of all, with a giant 3.5 ken (5.6 metres) shaft. This would appear to be a development Nobunaga adopted quite early in his career, because there is a reference to them in the Shmehdskiel for Anni 1155.3.



A comparison of the preferred spear lengths for the ashigaru nagae-yari as used by various daimyō. For further details see the accompanying text



An illustration from Ehon Taiköki showing the firing of thunder crash bombs by Korean artillerymen into a Japanese fortified camp. The artist has shown them being fread from camon with wide, reinforced breech sections rather than from mortars. The fact that these are exploding bombs rather than camonabalis is well illustrated.

#### GUNPOWDER WEAPONS

Throughout Japanese history, the practitioners of samural warfare were acutely conscious of the presence across the seas of the vast land of China with its well-developed military tradition. Yet the study of Chinese influence on samural warfare remains one of the most neglected spects of Japanese military history, even though it has great bearing on one of the most important innovations in military technology of the Sengoku Period: the introduction of cumpowder wearous.

On two occasions within the period of time covered in this book, the nations of Japan and China came to blows. These were the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281, and the Korean expeditions of 1592 and 1597, when samural armies fet the impact of Chinese military technology, an experience that was particularly acute in the field of explosive weapons. There were, in addition, several instances of Chinese military science being brought to bear against the depredations of Japanese pirates, and certain noteworthy examples of peaceful transmission of military lore through international trade and diplomacy.

We will note in passing that the earliest example of the use of Chinese weaponry by peaceful transmission would appear to be the employment of the



(shin ten ra) - in Chinese zhien tian lei) explodes in front of a mounted samurai during the Mongol invasion of 1274 in this well-known section from the Moko Shurai Ekotoba, This important picture shows the first experience in lapan of Chinese gunpowder weapons. Note how the iron fraaments of the casing burst and spread

A thunder crash bomb

öyumi, or crossbow. The actual form of this weapon is not known, as no specimen has survived in archaeological sites, and there were several possible versions of the Chinese design which could have been adopted. There appear to have been two övumi between each 50-man company, suggesting that they were heavy weapons operated from the ground, rather than hand arms, and another source speaks of 'arrows falling like rain', which indicates that they were variants of the Chinese repeating style of crossbow. One account of its use says that 'even tens of thousands of barbarians cannot bear up to the arrows of one machine". It was, however, a complex weapon to operate, and there is considerable evidence that skills in its use gradually declined. Repeated requests were made for skilled ôvumi operators to teach the conscripts. A certain Mivoshi Kivotsura lamented in 914 that 'those named do not yet even know of the existence of the weapon called the övumi, still less how to use the springs and bowstrings'. By the middle of the tenth century the öyumi is found only as a siege weapon. and by the time the Gempei War began in 1180, it had fallen completely out of favour.

#### The lapanese experience of Chinese explosive weapons

The impact of Chinese weapons involving gunpowder was far longer lasting, beginning with the first Mongol attempt at invasion in 1274, which introduced the samural for the first time to Chinese gunpowder weapons. In addition to the unfamiliar pattern of attacks by phalanxes of troops and clouds of anonymous arrows, a unique feature of the Mongol attacks was the launching of explosive projectiles, thrown by some form of catapult, against the Japanese troops. The use of these bombs is one of the best-known aspects of the Mongol invasions, and may be found illustrated on a very prominent section of the Moko Shūrai Ekotoba, the 'Mongol Invasion Scroll', which a certain Takezakı Suenaga had painted shortly after the war as proof of his achievements. The bomb is exploding in front of a mounted samural, sending its contents towards him. The Taiheiki describes how these mighty iron balls, known as teppo, were flung:

"They rolled down the hills like cartwheels. sounded like thunder and looked like holts of lightning. Two or three thousand of them were thrown at a time, and many soldiers were burned to death "

Another Japanese account, from the Hachiman Gudókun, reads:

"The commanding general kept his position on high ground, and directed the various detachments as need be with signals from hand drums. But whenever the Mongol soldiers took to flight. they sent iron bomb shells flying against us, which made our side dizzy and confused. Our soldiers were frightened out of their wits by the thundering explosions, their eyes were blinded, their ears deafened, so that they could hardly distinguish east from west."

The same weapons were used again during the more protracted attempt at invasion in 1281. Several possibilities exist as to what these exploding bombs actually were, but the most likely candidates are the weapons developed in China before the Mongol subjugation and called in Chinese zhen tian lei ('thunder crash hombs'). The characters literally read 'the thunder that shakes the heavens'. Zhen tian lei consisted of explosive packed into a hard iron casing, as distinct from the varieties possessing a weak casing discussed below. The first appearance of the name is found in the year 1231, when they were used by the Chinese against the Mongols. The Chinese general escaped with his men down the Yellow River.

"The Mongols pursued them along the northern bank with clamour and uproar of drums, while arrows and stones fell like rain. Now several li away a Mongolian fleet came out and intercepted them, so that they could not get through, But the Chinese ships had on board a supply of those fire bombs called thunder crash missiles, and they hurled these at the enemy. The flashes and flame could distinctly be seen \*

Thunder crash bombs were used again the following year, in a major operation to defend the city of Kaifeng against the Mongols. The besieging army was under the command of Ogodai Khan's celebrated general Subotai, so the defenders needed all the ingenuity they could muster. including the delivery of thunder crash bombs by an unconventional means

"Among the weapons of the defenders there was the 'heaven-shaking thunder crash bomb'. It consisted of gunpowder put into an iron container; then when the fuse was lit and the projectile was shot off, there was a great explosion the noise whereof was like thunder, audible for more than a hundred li, and the vegetation was scorched and blasted by the heat over an area of more than half a mou. When hit, even iron armour was pierced through. Therefore the Mongol soldiers made cowhide sheets to cover their approach trenches and men beneath the walls, and dug, as it were, niches each large enough to contain a man, hoping that in this way the troops above would not be able to do anything about it. But someone suggested the technique of lowering the thunder crash bombs on iron chains. When these reached the trenches where the Mongols were making their dugouts, the bombs were set off, with the result that the cowhide and the attacking soldiers were all blown to bits, not even a trace being left behind."

The thunder crash bombs did not, however, save the city, which fell to the Mongols.

Between 1267 and 1273, the Mongols besleged Nanag-yang on the Han rure. By this time both sides were using explosive bombs. The following year, 1274, as with esame weapons being used against the Japanese defenders of the beach at Hakata, and it is interesting to read a reference to thunder crash bombs dating from some three centuries later, although by now they appear to be regarded as museum pieces. Needham gives us an eye witness account from 1522 of a visitor to Shandi with saw some old thunder crash bombs on that "The the spring laws sent to Shansi with each "The the spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The the spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The the spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The the spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and there at "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at sent "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at all "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at all "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at all "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring laws sent to Shansi and the at law "The spring law sent to Shansi and "The spring law se

Sian on the city wall I saw some old cast-inno bombshells of the kind that were known in former times as 'heaven shaking thunder crash bombs'. In shape they were like two bowds that could be joined together to make a ball, and at the top there was a small hole the size of a finger. These things are not used by the army now."

The impression given to the visitor that such

weapons were redundant does not, however, appear to be borne out by subsequent events, appear to be borne out by subsequent events, because thunder crash bombs were employed by the Korean defenders of Haengu against the Japanese invaders in 1593, and were used again later that same year, when the first invasion was over and the Japanese role hab become one of

garrisoning a series of fortified camps. A surprise attack was launched on the fortress of Kyöngju. An account appears in the Chöhiroku:

"A hi sgels shin ten rai (flying attacking thunder crash homb) fell into the courtyard of the lodgings of the castle. As to the insurgents, we could not work out who they were, and having gathered to argue about it and examine it we were knocked flat by what was packed into it as it suddenly exploded and broke into pieces of iron that flew like stars. More than thirty men were struck by them and died. The men who were on hit got up after a little died. The men who were on hit got up after a little saying that it was a thing from the gods. Because of the insurgents, we abandoned the castle and withdrew to Sokangoo."

It is interesting to speculate whether any of the Japanese samurai in Korea, who took such pride in their illustrious pedigrees, were aware of any of their own ancestors who had experienced identical weapons three centuries earlier

It may be noted that a separate account claims the shin ten rais as Korean inmovation, and credits it to a certain Yi Chang Son. There was certainly a major difference between these Korean thury der crash bombs and the earlier Chinese varieties in the means of propulsion. Those used in 1593 were not fired from a catapuil but out of a mortar, of which

"the mouth was as large as a big earthenware rice bowl. If it were shot once the cannon ball went as far as 500 or 600 paces and after it fell to the ground, fire came out. This was the best thing by which to destroy the enemy fortifications."

An extant specimen of such a mortar (in Japanese dai swanka) in the Seoul Museum has a bore of 272 mm, a total length of 64.4 cm and a weight of 310 kg. A specimen of funder crash bomb measures 210 mm in diameter and weighs 21.6 kg. It is noted that the bore could be up to 36 cm, and that there were several different sizes.

It may also be the case that the Japanese used thunder crash bombs themselves during the Korean invasions. There is a painted screen in Kagoshima which depicts the victory of Shimazu Yoshihiro at Sach'ön in 1598 and shows a large explosion taking place within the Chinese and Korean ranks. However, the way the burst is shown, with an even spread, may indicate that this shown, with an even spread, may indicate that this was the other, weak cased variety of explosive projectic invented by the Chinese, which is dealt with in the following section. There does not appear to be any evidence for the Japanese using mortars, and the above account indeed speaks to the contrary, because of the wonder caused by the nature of the unfamiliar weapon. Further evidence is provided by the request made to Dutch traders in 1638 to cast some mortars for the Japanese. castle, with which the Shimabara rebellion ended, implying that the shogun's army can have had no mortars of its our

We noted earlier a reference to thunder crash bombs being lowered into the Mongol trenches during the siege of 1232. In 1277 we read a similar account of a siege involving the use of a very large fire bomb against the Mongols, whereby 'the city wall was split in two, and the smoke and dust filled the heavens'. The implication of such weapons is that, being too large to be projected. they were effectively land-mines, another form of gunpowder technology developed in China and used in Japan. The mines were detonated either by a remote fuse, or were triggered by the enemy in a variety of ingenious ways. There is a clear reference, in Sadler's description in The Maker of Modern Japan of the summer campaign of Osaka. to the use of a land-mine. When the Osaka forces retreated. Mori Katsunaga's unit set off a landmine as Tödö Takatora's army pursued them, doing 'considerable damage'. One other piece of pictorial evidence, however, may be misleading, This is a print by Kuniyoshi of the death of Morozumi Masakivo at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. The print was once believed to show the explosion of a land-mine, but a blast from a thunder crash bomb would be more likely. The caption also refers to a 'rocket', a misunderstanding of how the bombs were delivered, but implying that they were fired rather than buried.

When we turn to the other form of Chinese catapult bomb, those with weak casings, there are clear and unambiguous records of their use in Japan. The Chinese term is pi li huo chui, or pi li pao, translated by Needham as 'thunderclap fireball', or 'thunderclap bomb', respectively. The main difference between thunderclap fireballs and



A cutaway drawing of a soft-casing catapull bomb called hekirek taskya tihunderchap fireball. The lacquered paper casing is filled with gunpowder and pieces of broken porcelain. The fuse is inserted through a bomboo tube. The weight of the object is indicated by the fitting of a wheel and a draanine handle.

thunder crash bombs is that the latter had iron casings, while the explosive mixture of the former was packed within a casing of lacquered paper. Weak casing bombs are much older in origin than strong casing ones. Their effect would appear to have been more of creating alarm than actual damage, but developments wherely fragments of iron or porcelain were mixed in with the guipnowder gave it the ability to cause serious injury. We are offered a detailed description in a document from the eleventh century:

"The thunderclap fireball contains a length of two or three intermedes of for bamboo with a diameter of 1.5 in. There must be no cracks, and the septa are to be retained to avoid any leakage. Thirty pieces of broken porcelain the size of iron coins are mixed with 3 or 4 ib of gunpowder, and packed around the bamboo tube. The tube is wrapped within the ball, but with about an inch or so protruding at each end. A powder mixture is then applied all over the outer surface of the ball."

Although not noted here, the outer casing is of several layers of paper. "If the enemy digs a tunnel to attack the city

then a sap must be excavated so as to connect with it. A red hot iron brand is used to set off the thunderclap bomb, which produces a noise indeed like thunder. Bamboo fans are used to drive the smoke and flame down the tunnel, so as to stifle and burn the enemy's sappers."

A note is added that 'the soldier setting off the bomb should suck some liquorice as a protection'. A contemporary illustration shows the ends of the bamboo protruding from the fireball, to which wheels and a dragging handle have been fitted, indicating that they were quite heavy to move around.

As noted above, the bombs used during the Mongol invasions of Japan have been identified as the strong casing thunder crash bombs, rather than the older thunderclap fireballs, yet it is the weak-cased variety which we find being used by Japanese armies over a century later. Their introduction would appear to have been the direct result of the re-establishment of diplomatic and trading links with China that the Mongol invasions had severed, coupled with a renewed study of Chinese military writings, from about 1400 onward. A prominent family in this regard were the Hosokawa, whose descendants were to play such an important role in the Önin War, and it was in the second year of this bitter conflict (1468) that such weapons were used by the Japanese. The Hosokawa side fired thunderclap firehalls from their defences into the lines of the Yamana. The account is from the Hekizan Nichiroku

"A craftsman from Yamato province came to the camp, and constructed hatsusekiboku. At the



The form of Chinese catapuit powered by men pulling on ropes rather than the Muslim counterweighted system, which was used to shoot thunderclap fireballs during the Onin War in 1468.

place where the stones hit their mark they broke completely into fragments. They were machines which fired stones and devices like Chinese plums, used as siege engines.. The operators fired loads of stone or destroyed armies by spreading fire within their ranks. They were called thekirekisha (thunderclap wagons). Further, the strategy for these machines' operation was to use stones of 12 kin in weight. They went about 300 paces."

Hatsusekiboku is an archaic Japanese rendering of 'tôsekiki' (stone-firing catapults). The anonymous craftsman clearly used his catapults to fire both stones and thunderclap fireballs. Not only do the written characters match (the full Japanese title reads hekireki kakyū), but the description of them as being like 'Chinese plums' is a vivid likeness. The catapults used were operated entirely by manpower. Instead of the counter weighted trebuchet design familiar from descriptions of medieval European siege warfare, the hatsusekiboku were fired by 40 foot-soldiers simultaneously pulling on 12 metre long ropes. The thunderclap fireballs, with time fuses burning, were hurled into the air and flew as far as 300 or 400 metres into the Yamana lines. There they exploded like real claps of thunder out of a clear blue sky, scattering black smoke and their injurious contents far and wide.

It is unfortunate that we do not have any record of the effect such operations had on the Yamana samurai. A Chinese account from 1207 may give clues as to the reaction:

"Simultaneously the thunderclap bombs and the fire arrows were sent into the enemy's camp. How many were killed and wounded in this attack could not be known, but men and horses were thrown into confusion and trampled one another."

Evidence for further use of thunderclap fireballs is sparse. As noted above, a thunderclap fireball is a possible explanation for the explosion at Sach'ön on the Shimazu screen. Sadler's description of the preparations for the siege of Osaka in 1614 mentions that every hundred yards or so the defenders erected a 'fire projecting mangonet'. This implies a catapult, firing either thunderclap fireballs or some other form of incendiary, but in the absence of the original source, the characters cannot be identified.

The best evidence for the Japanese use of firebombs occurs in the records of naval warfare, As warships were made of wood, to set fire to an enemy's vessels was sound tactics, and the Möri family, whose fleet controlled the Inland Sea for many years, and supported the Ikko-ikki against Oda Nohunaga, produced the model weapon in the form of a small version of the thunderclap bomb which was effectively a hand grenade. It was made from two hemispheres of unglazed earthenware, filled with gunpowder and perhaps lead shot or iron fragments, and with a fuse. To assist throwing, a short rope was attached, or the bombs could be hurled by a net attached to a pole.

The Shinchökoki contains a reference to Sakuma Uemon, one of Nobunaga's naval commanders, being attacked and having his ship set on fire in this way. Sasama in Buke Seniin Saho Shūsei shows in addition a variety of small catapult, presumably to increase the range, which operated by means of a springy wooden arm rather than by men nulling on rones. The grenades were called hórokubiya (literally 'cooking pot fire arrows') to distinguish them from the bo hiva ('shafted fire arrows') shot from bows. Larger varieties of bo hiva were wooden rockets, fired from large bore arquebuses. The Gizan Gokaku tells of Kobayakawa Takakage, who was of the Mori family and steeped in their traditions, ordering bo hiva to be fired, which 'fell like rain'.

## From fire-lances to firearms

In the field of exploding bombs, therefore, the Japanese adopted one military innovation from China while rejecting a different variety of the same weapon. The introduction of firearms to Japan is another complex issue in which China played a considerable, yet hitherto unacknowledged role. Returning to the Onin War and the account cited above, elsewhere in the Hekizan Nichiroku we read:

"Within the camp of Hosokawa Masavuki they were equipped with hihō and hisō."

Hihō (literally 'flying bombs') refers to the thunderclap fireballs, but hisō ('fire-spears') indicates that Jananese armies of the mid-fifteenth century were making use of another Chinese innovation, the fire-spear or fire-lance. This device predated both the thunderclap fireball and the thunder crash bomb, and was, as Needham so convincingly points out, the ancestor of the gun

barrel. A fire-lance consisted basically of a fiveminute flame-thrower on the end of a pole. The flames would be directed towards the enemy causing burns, frightening horses, and setting fire to fortifications from a short distance. Their use during the first half of the fourteenth century against enemies that included Japanese pirates is shown by a reference in a memoir by a Yuan general who fought against coastal rebels and parates during the 1340s and 1350s. Two sorts of fire-lances are noted. The first, literally a 'skyfilling smoke-spurting tube', fired bits of broken porcelain and produced smoke that had an effect similar to tear gas. The second, the 'heaven-flying spurting tube', produced balls of arsenic-based poison amongst its flames.

From devices that emitted projectiles out of a tube along with flames, it is but a short conjectural step towards arms that can properly be termed guns, where the emission of projectiles is the main intention. There is no space here to go into great detail about how the Chinese made that important progression, of which the introduction of a metal barrel for fire lances was a vital stage. but it is possible to identify certain key occasions of relevance to our theme of the military contact between China and Japan. Some difficulty has been caused in the past interpretation of key texts by the continued use of the term huo pao, an expression that first refers to trebuchets, and later to guns. For example, in 1287 we read of foot soldiers carrying and using huo pao:

"Li Thing chose gun soldiers (chong zu) concealing those who hore the huo pao on their backs: then by night he crossed the river, moved upstream, and fired off (the weapons). This threw all the enemy's horses and men into great confusion "

The use of the term chong (gun) and huo pao in the same account indicates that this detachment was a primitive Chinese firearms unit. Its simple handguns would have consisted of a muzzleloaded barrel, bulbous around the touch-hole for extra strength, a touch-hole for a slow match, and a socket with a wooden handle. The oldest bronze guns known in China from archaeological investigation also date from around this time, which begs the intriguing question of whether such weapons were used against the Japanese during



inconclusive. One account mentions fire barrels (huo tong) for both invasions, but this could mean fire-lances, because a separate source speaks of General Fan Wen-Hu using 'poisoned arrows shot from barrels'. The famous thunder crash bombs, of course, have a contemporary illustration to aid their identification.

By the mid-fourteenth century, however, the references in Chinese literature are clearly to weapons identifiable as guns, and we do not have to look far before we hear of them being used against the Japanese. From 1356 onward, Korea was being harsased by Japanese priorates, and sext a special envoy to the Chinese court requesting firerarms. The request was granted, and by 1377 handguns and bombards were being systematic cally mainfactured in Korea following Chinese models. Some of these weapons fired wooden were the prototypes of the artillery which seved the Korean navy so well in Admiral VI's campaigns acainst the invading language and the scanning cannies of in 1592.

For developments in hand-held weapons we need to look at about the year 1400, when the stock began to be shaped so as to fit the shoulder, and the serpentine was invented. The serpentine was a simple S-shaped lever which was proted and allowed the match to fall upon the touch-hole. The lowering of the serpentine by means of a tragger dates from about 1475. This takes us to ranger dates from about 1475. This takes us to ranger dates from about 1475. This takes us to down a tragger date from about 1475. This takes us to appear to the same that the same that

Two fine examples of the Japanese arquebus derived from Portuguese originals, showing the external brass spring on the lower one.

recorded in the Hijli Godariki, and has long been regarded as providing the classic instance of the non-transmission of a military innovation, because nothing appears to have arisen from Ujii-suna's acquisition of the weapon. In 1543 we have the introduction of the Portuguese arquebus and any Chinese guns seem to have been completely disregarded.

Dramatic confirmation, however, that Chinese guns were used in Japanese warfare comes in the Köyö Gunkon. The battle in question was Uedahar, fought in 18-48 between Takeda Shingen and Murakami Yoshikiyo, at which the Takeda were defeated and lot one of their best generals, Itagaki Nobuskata. The Köyö Gunkan makes no reference to firearms in sta actual account of the battle, which no doubt explains why their use has not been picked up. Instead the reference occurs in the chapter that follows the battle narrative, where Murakami is found discussing the battle with Uesugi Kenshin. He explains how he prepared to deal with the devastating Takeda cavality charge:

"As defence against the horsemen I chose two hundred skilled shooters out of the army and to one hundred small est shooters out of the army and to one hundred and fifty soldiers I gave five well made arrows and a bow; and to the rest gave matchlocks imported in the seventh year of Eshō with three ballets. They were ordered to shoot when they were told and to throw them away later and fight with swords. And for the gan shooters, I ordered to shoot the guns after the arrows were shot, and baleed an officer for each five shooters."

The inclusion of the date of introduction of these weapons, 1510, confirms that Murakami

Yoshikiyo was using Chinese matchlocks. One thing that is clear is that the guns do not seem to have been at all effective in the battle. Was this because of their design, their small numbers, or because of how they were used? Turning first to the design, it is more than likely that the guns were fairly primitive when compared to the Portuguese varieties it is well established that Portuguese arquebuses came to China in 1548 via the Japanese pirates and were adopted as enthusiastically in China as they had been in Japan, which implies that they were perceived as superior

The Chinese expression for the arquebus was niao chong ('bird-gun') or niao zui chong ('birdbeak gun'), the reference to birds being either from the action of the cock, like the pecking of a bird, or from their use as fowling pieces, Illustrations of such weapons date only from 1562. The stocks are short, like pistol grups, but otherwise they resemble the Portuguese models. The most likely design for the 1510 varieties would be a simple arguebus which the Portuguese models were to supersede, but unfortunately we do not appear to have any illustration of a weapon of about 1510. We do know that when the Japanese set themselves to copy the Portuguese weapons the major problem they faced was how to stop the end of the barrel after it had been forged into a tube from a flat sheet of iron. According to tradition, the secret was passed on to the putative gunsmith in exchange for his daughter! The implication of this story is that the earlier Chinese weapons may have differed in that their barrels were cast rather than folded, or made from two strips of iron welded together.

Whatever the design of these mysterious guns may have been, the instructions given to the gunners betray an ignorance of their potential although there is an apparent appreciation of their short range. The archers are ordered to shoot first, then the gunners (each of whom only has three bullets) are to follow. Without giving them time to reload they are then to discard the guns and fight with swords. The shortage of supply may have been inevitable, but it would not be long in Japanese history before the benefits of using guns in large-scale volleys became apparent.

Uedahara took place the year before the usually accepted date when guns were first used in battle in Japan. This happened at the siege of Kajiki in Ösumi province against an allied army led by Hijitsuki Kanenobu, and was a victory gained by guns for the Shimazu, in whose province the Portuguese had landed six years earlier. Six years further on, and far to the north, we come across Takeda Shingen once again, In 1555 he reinforced the parrison of Asahiyama castle with 3000 men among whom were 300 armed with matchlocks. When Uesugi Kenshin attacked at the beginning of the action that was to lead to the second battle of Kawanakauma, he was repulsed by the gunfire.

It is impossible to tell whether these guns were based on the earlier Chinese models or the later Portuguese ones, By this date Japan had several flourishing arsenals, so it is more than likely that the guns installed in Asahiyama were now effectively 'Japanese matchlocks', whatever their ancestry may have been. It is clear that they are now being more effectively used, a matter that is of course independent of the guns' origins, and by this time, too, Portuguese arquebuses had been introduced into China by the Jananese. The wheel of innovation had now turned full circle

#### The dissemination and use of the Japanese arquebus

Although Shimazu Takahisa's victory at Kajiki is the first occasion on which the new Portuguese arquebuses were used in battle in Japan, they had already been used in action several times in the previous year by Japanese pirates; and it is a testimony to the professionalism of these feared warrior-adventurers that they should not only be the first to use them in anger, but became the means by which the new weapons were introduced to China.

Some dissemination had, however, already taken place in Japan by this date, through a complex web of social contacts and family connections. In the same year that the Portuguese arrived, a visitor to the Shimazu territories named Tsuda Katsunaga was given an arquebus as a gift. Katsunaga, who hailed from Kii province, happened to be the brother of the priest Suginobu Myosan of the Negoroii, one of the most formidable centres of warrior-monks. The gun, and information about its construction and use, was passed on to a local smith named Shibatsuji Kivoemon, who soon began production of the



This drawing shows the operation of a largecalibre arquebus. The gunner braces himself against a pile of rice straw sandbags to absorb the recoil. The caption notes that the gun had a range of 5 ch6.

weapons in large quantities for the Negoroji. In 1544 the Shimazu received a further visitor in the shape of Tachibana Yamatasaburû, a merchant from Sakai. It was from Sakai in 1510 that the first Chinese guns had been acquired and supplied to Höjö Ujitsuna, and na Tachibana's return, the gunsmiths of Sakai, who were already producing the Chinese variety, switched production to the new models.

It was also in 1544 that gummaking was introduced to the inconvoking centre of Kunitomo, a town to the north-east of Lake Biwa. The commission came from no less a person than the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu through Hosokawa Harumoto, and by August of the same year the smiths had produced two weapons, each weighing 6 momne. It was, however, six years before either of those commissioning the weapons used them in battle

The Kunitomo gunsmiths were soon to acquire their most prestigious customer, for among the martial accomplishments in which the young Oda Nobunaga was being trained by his father Oda Nobubide, we read in the Shinchökoki of instruction in gunnery being provided by a certain Hashimoto Ippa. Oda Nobuhide was a far-sighted daimyo, and placed an order for 500 arquebuses from Kunitomo in 1549, their biggest order to date. Nobubide died in 1551, and within two years of Nobunaga's accession there occurred his epic visit to his future father in law Saito Dosan. Nobunaga's marriage to Dosan's daughter had been a condition of the peace accord between the two families, and Dosan arranged the 1553 meeting as a way of intimidating his future son-in-law now that he was head of the clan. Oda Nobunaga arrived at the meeting accompanied by an impressive retinue of between 7 and 800 men, including 500 3½ ken-long spears, which were themselves innovative, and 500 ashigaru carrying guns, the sight of which stunned Dosan.

The following year, 1554, Nobunaga demonstrated that he also knew how to use these new weapons when he attacked Imagawa Yoshimoto's Muraki castle on the Chita peninsula. Nobunaga advanced to the edge of the moat, and organised relays of ashigaru with arquebuses to keep up a constant fire. This was a clear example of organised volley firing 25 years before Nagashino. Although he seems to have been the only practitioner of rotating volleys. Oda Nobunaga was not the only daimyo to appreciate that arquebuses needed to be used in large numbers. We noted above that in 1555, during the preliminary moves to the second battle of Kawanakaiima, Takeda Shingen sent an army in which were 300 arquebuses to reinforce his ally Kurita Kazuiu in Asahiyama castle. Their presence helped save the castle from falling to a fierce attack from Uesugi Kenshin.

From 1530 onward, the records of guns being used in wafare become more numerous, although few seem to have shared Nobunaga's clear appreciation of how they might best be used. In 1530, arquebuses were employed in the defence of Nakanao caste in Yamashro province by Adalogay Yoshibam. Only a same year we read of gunfire delivered by a firearms equad in the army of Hosokawa Harumoto when the Miyoshi advanced on Kyan.

In 1560, a castle owned by Oda Nobunaga came under fire from a large number of guns. The castle was Marune, one of the Oda outposts attacked by Imagawa Yoshimoto's troops as they advanced into Nobunaga's territory. The leader of the attack on Marune was Matsudaira Motoyasu, the future Tokugawa Jevasu, whose tactics are very revealing. He first made a sharp attack which was repulsed with some loss. Sensing victory, the castle commander Sakuma Morishige opened the gates and led his men out in a charge. Motoyasu was waiting for them with a concentrated fire of arquebuses and bows, and Morishige was shot dead, the first high-ranking general in Japanese history to be killed by a bullet. The castle then fell to an advance by Motoyasu.

By this time arquebuses were being used throughout Japan. The fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561 contains numerous references to firearms. In the far west of Kyūshū, in 1563, Juan Ichibu Kageyu, who was a vassal of the Matsuura family and had converted to Christianity made good use of firearms at the hattle of Aikō no Ura, and later used them against a gang of pirates who had come to raid his island of Ikitsuki. Two out of the three pirate ships were sunk, and when Juan Ichihu came to examine the corpses of the dead pirates, all had died from bullet wounds rather than from arrows. Kikkawa Motoharu, of the Mori family, besieged a castle in Izumo province, and lost 33 men to gunfire. The following year, the Mori are noted using arquebuses themselves in the attack on the Amako's castle of Toda. Also in 1564, the Otomo of Kyūshū are using guns against the Möri. In 1565. the combined forces of Matsunaga Hisahide and Mivoshi Yoshitsugu used guns when they besieged the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru in his palace, and in 1566 arguebuses were used in the fighting between the Rokkaku and the Asai. In 1569, Oda Nobunaga's invasion of Ise province was met with arquebus fire from the Kitabatake. although it did not save Kitabatake Tomonori from defeat

In 1570, Oda Nobunaga used 500 arquebuses at the battle of Anegawa, but later that year he was to find himself on the receiving end of large-scale arquebus fire. He had laid siege to the mighty Ishiyama Honganji, the headquarters of the Ikkö-ikki. Within the castle were supporters from Saiga and Negoroji, Ikkō centres which had already established a reputation for themselves in using guns. Three thousand arquebus troops attacked Nobunaga's army at dead of night. The Shinchökoki notes that 'the gunfire truly echoed through heaven and earth'. Subsequent accounts of the long siege of Ishiyama Honganii, which held out until 1580, contain numerous references to the use of guns. In one action, the battle of Mitsuii, in 1576, Oda Nobunaga was hit in the leg by a bullet, By 1571 Takeda Shingen was sufficiently impressed by the power of the arquebus that he could issue an order replacing spears by guns, and



A drawing, probably based on information supplied by the Dutch, showing the considerations that lie behind the science of ballistics when applied to bombarding a castle tower from below. or boots from higher ground. The sights on the harrel are shown

both he and Tokugawa Jevasu were to use them at their clash at Mikata ga Hara in 1572.

By the time of Nagashino, therefore, the use of large-scale arquebus fire by ashigaru was so well established that the presence of guns in a particular battle may almost be assumed. The Shinchōkoki account of Muraki is the only one where rotating volley fire is explicitly described, but it must not be ruled out for the Asahiyama, Marune and Ishiyama Honganii actions. Nobunaga's innovation at Nagashino was much more complex, because he applied these tactics to a particularly acute situa tion. Faced with the finest cavalry in Japan, he used a very large number of arquebuses firing rotating volleys protected by a loose palisade, a combination of known tactics strictly controlled by a rigid discipline. His victory was gained to the background of a careful division of labour between the ashigaru who broke the charge and the samurai swordsmen who completed the victory. The revolution that was the introduction of firearms to the Japanese battlefield may long have happened, but it was at Nagashino that it was to receive its most devastating expression.

## The technology of the Japanese arquebus

Section III will describe how these weapons were used on the battlefield by ashigaru, for whom the arquebus soon became the most important weapon. An arquebus was fired from the shoulder. with support needed only for the heavier-calibre versions developed later by the Japanese, which are usually known as 'wall guns' or 'hand cannon'. In a normal arquebus, an iron barrel fitted neatly into a wooden stock, to the right of which was a brass serpentine linked to a spring, which dropped the serpentine when the trigger was pulled. The serpentine contained the end of a glowing and smouldering match, the rest of which was wrapped around the stock of the gun, or wound around the gunner's arm. Arquebuses are therefore often called simply 'matchlocks'. To protect from premature explosions, the pan, into which the fine priming gunpowder had been carefully introduced, was closed by a brass sliding cover which was swung back at the last moment. The guns produced quite a recoil, and a lot of smoke. As skills developed, cartridges were introduced, thus speeding up the process of loading.

The best gunsmiths formed schools to pass on the tradition, such as those at Kunitomo and Sakai, and were never short of customers. Within the space of a few years, arquebuses were being produced to quality standards that exceeded those originally brought from Europe. One simple. vet fundamental, development, which occurred quite early on in Japanese arquebus production. was the standardisation of the bore. In Europe, where no form of standardisation was carried out, practically every gun needed its own bullet mould. In Japan, bores were standardised to a handful of sizes. Standard bores meant standard-sized bullets, which could be carried in bulk for an arquebus corps, a small but significant improvement.

The use of the arquebus on the battlefield has recently been examined by means of a series of practical experiments carried out in Japan. The first test was an assessment of the gun's range. Five bullets, each of 8 mm calibre, were fired at a target in the shape of an armoured samural from distances of 30 metres and 50 metres respectively by an experienced matchlock user. At 30 metres each of the five bullets hit the target area of the chest, but only one out of the five struck the chest area over 50 metres. Even at 50 metres, however, a bullet that struck home on a man could do considerable damage, as shown by the results of the second experiment. Bullets of 9 mm calibre were fired against the following materials:

- 1. 24 mm wooden board
- 2. 48 mm wooden board
- 3. 1 mm iron plate
- 4. 2 mm iron plate.
- At 30 metres each was pierced cleanly. At 50 metres '1' and '3' were again pierced through. The bullet entered the 48 mm board for three-quarters of its depth, and also entered the 2 mm iron plate. causing a dent on the inside, but not passing through. As the iron from which the scales of a typical dö-maru were made was of about 0.8 mm thickness, such armour could be holed by a bullet fired at 50 metres.
- The third experiment tested the possible rate of fire. A single gunner took fifteen seconds to complete the process of load, prime, aim and fire. and in the experiment delivered six bullets in 100 seconds. (The time was measured from the

discharge of the first bullet.) In the case of the worley firing, working on the figure of files volley firing, working on the figure of files seconds for reloading, the other two ranks were reordered to fire at five-second untervals, by with time the first gunner was again prepared. As a result, the three ranks delivered six bullets with thirty seconds, confirming the practicality of their use at Neasshino.

One disadvantage of the arquebus was its slow loading time compared to the bow, making it necessary for archers to provide cover for reloading. The chronicle Metryő Kohan notes another problem, that of maintaining a constantly smouldering fuse:

"When firing an arquebus on the battlefield you will be in a hurry, so cut two or three 3-shaku lengths of fuse, and wind them round your right arm. These can be used as replacements as one naturally goes out."

Rain was of course an enormous problem, but it affected friend and foe allke in a field battle. The Bumon Taihei Fuboki, however, has a solution to the difficulty: "In the matter of fuses for rainy, weather, take 30 monme of gallnut, and 3 gō of tooth blackening powder, and put these two items into a pot. Boil three lengths of fuse in it. A variation is to use a mixture of 1 sho of strong tooth blackening powder and 1 go of gallnut in a pot, and add ten lengths of fuse cord. Boil until the cord turns black. In rainy weather wrap the fuse in a towel and use as described above."

and use as described anobe.

Even on occasions when the weather appeared fine, the guttner was advested to wrap the fuses once or twice in a Joth. As for the length of the source or twice in a Joth. As for the length of the outstretched arms is recommended. One feature associated arms is recommended. One feature associated to the source of the produced a great deal of noise and smoke. This could have the advantage of causing panic an an enemy, but it made arquebases unsuitable for surprise attacks where the smouldering marches would reveal one's position. Nonetheless, from the time of Nagashino noward, the arquebus thad become the weapon par excellence of the lowly assiliaran.

# ASHIGARU IN THE WAR CHRONICLES

It is surprising how many accounts from the Sengoku Period refer to the exploits of ashigaru. For example, one ashigaru of the Satake family was inspired by a dead samurai:

"There was a retainer of Statale Yoshnobu called Tadano Samon. He was expert in the ways of horse and bow, spear and sword, and furthermore became a samural of great bravery and strength... At the time when this Samon went to the battefield he wore a large sashimono. The sushimono was a flag of white cotton ofton on which was written in large characters, hitosabifu la for Adano Samon (Tadano Samon who will not take one step backwards). There was once a time when the Saski army were defeated in battle. One of their common soldiers had lost heart and retreated, but when he was about to drink water from a stream by the roadside, he save the great sushimono where it had fallent into the water. He saw the characters on it, and regreted that he had retreated. This mere ashigaru hurried back and charged into the midst of the great army of the enemy. He fought with great dissperation and took three helmerofe heads. He ended his career with 200 koku."

During Oda Nobiuó's invasion of Iga province in 1581, hundreds of ashigaru took part in a most unusuai occurrence: the killing of an enemy general on the battlefield. Insult was added to injury because the killing was carried out not by a noble samurat in individual combat, but by a mob of lowly secarmen. The Iran-is describes the scene as follows:

The general Tsuge sbburdze'mon, who was not thought of as capable, was himself pursued and surrounded by speers. Several hundred solders flocked round him to take their vengence, stabbing him together. They stabbed him many times until he died. It was then a misty monoili night, and seeing the victory won at their hands the liga samural withdrew a step back from their valoret and furious attack on him. As Tsuge suburdza'emon was exhausted in body and in mind all need for defence had gone. (Momochi 1897 (2): 11)



# STRATEGY AND TACTICS

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## SAMURAI ARMY ORGANISATION

#### The development of the samurai army

During the Sengoku Period the nature of samural warfare underword a massive change. The pace was slow at first, but built up in momentum, until by the time of the battle of Selagahara in 1600 a chronicler could note in wonder that he saw a samural ride into battle carrying above. The major development was in the use of sabigaru, with an appreciation that men causally recruited could just as a casually disappear to till the fields and swell the arrames of an enemy. There was therefore a need for continuity, for development of skills, and, above all, for the incutaction of at least a little of that

fanatical loyalty that was already expected from the samurai. Both these trends developed as the Sengoku Period continued and battles, sieges and campaigns grew larger in scale. The final realisation was one that came later, and for some daimyo never came at all. This was a recogni tion that, although the ashigaru were different from samurai, their fighting skills could be complementary. In other words, the successful daimyo was one who took ashigaru seriously, and used them in a combination of arms, controlled, trained and drilled by samurai, but acknowl-

The commander on a battlefield would sit on a comp-stool, as shown here in this figure from the Smithsonian, and direct troop movements using his satial trasselled fam. The dummy here wears old-fash-toned fur boots associated with the Gempel Wars. His helmet is forged mit a sharp ridge, The armour is a gold-lacquered nit mai byzame did laced in sugade adoshi, with the kuszuru (skirts) laced in subjik todarbi.

edged and valued for the contribution they could make to the achievement of victory.

One piece of evidence for this development lies in the numerous suits of armour made for in the numerous suits of armour made for a sahagaru. Known simply as okashi gusoku honourable loon armourl, they are of plain construction, yet nearly all bear the damyo's mon badgel, a simple heraldic deve which transmour into what we see fferent which transmour more more than they a military uniform. Some, notably the lici dan from Hikone, dressed all their troops, including sahasaru, in uniformly coloured armour.

It was one thing, however, to dress the ashigaru in a uniform, but quite another to give him anything other than a subordinate place on the



battlefield. This tremendous change was directly linked to the choice of weapony allocated to the ashigaru. During the heroic days of the Gempel Wars, the samural weapon par excellence was the bow, and prowess at archery was the most praced samural accomplishment. Yet by about 1530 we see ashigan used regularly as missile troops, while the mounted samural fight with spears rather than bows. From the 1550 so marked, the ashigaru bows are augmented, and later almost replaced, by firearms, but for these to be effective they had to

be placed at the front of an army. However, the vanguard of a Japanese army, was traditionally the position occupied by the most loyal and glorious samurai. There was also much honour attached to being the first unto battle, a matter over which many samurai comrades almost came to blows. To place the lowest-ranking troops is such a position was a challenge to samurai pride, even allowing for a tactical consideration which envisaged the ashigan's fire merely breaking down the enemy, ranks ready for a spirited charge by samurai while

#### THE ARMY OF TAKEDA SHINGEN

The Köyö Gunkan is the great chronicle and gazetteer of the Takeda family. In one section the entire Takeda army of 1573 is set out. Following the importance of social ties in the samurai hierarchy, it consisted of three overall parts: Ilkishindan, sakikata-shū and kuni-shū.

The sakklata-th Take from the defeated enemies, such as the Sarka family of Shinano, who had submitted to the Taked and now provided loyal set, such as the Sarka. The Shinano, who had submitted to the Taked and now provided loyal set in the Shinano shina

The name jikishidan (the 'close retainer' group) shows the importance attached to birth or hereditary vassalage. It was subdivided into four sections. The first two were:

- 1. goshinrui-shū (family members)
- 2. go fudai karō-shù (the hereditary vassals and chief retainers)

The great strength of the Takeda army was its cavalry, who operated as mounted units supported by personal attendants, and most of these ellie troops came from the above two sections plus the sakistats-shit. The total for all the horsemen in the Takeda army in the Koyo Gunkan list is 9121, and every horseman would have been accompanied by two followers on foot. The third section was

3. ashigaru-taishō (generals of ashigaru)

- There were 5489 ashigaru under the command of various leaders in the Takeda army, including the ashigaru-taishō's own personal command. The jikishindan was completed by:
  - 4. hatamoto shoyakunin (personal attendants on the lord)

Takeda Shingen had a personal retinue of 884 ashigaru and servants, who made up the hatamoto-shoyakunin, to whom were added various notable samural as bodyguard. The fine detail of the bodyguard, servants and other non-combatant roles makes interesting reading:

goryönin shū (literally 'imperial property unit')	30
godobo shū (literally 'companions' from Echigo)	30
gosha odosama shū (samurai who were Buddhist priests)	5
	+30 followers
onzoku (sons of nobles)	1
mikosho (pages, often sons of retainers. Some have very famous surnamest)	24
gonando bugyű (storeroom commissioner)	2
godobo shū ('companions')	2
	+38 followers
nobori (banner bearer)	1
koji bugyo (government business commissioner)	3

the ashigaru politely held back. Yet by the 1590s such troop arrangements were commonplace, showing a profound difference in military attitude.

This trend was given a dramatic illustration in 1575 with Ods Nobunagis victory at Nagashino. Oda Nobunagis Ad Nobunagis victory at Nagashino. Oda Nobunaga, who was faced by the prospect of a devastating cavalry charge against him by the renowned samurai of the Takeda clan, lined up has arquebus squads into three ranks protected by a loose palisade. The ashigaru gunners fired controlled volleys into the horsemen. killing or

disorientating so many that they became easier prey for the samurai swords and spears. Nagashino thus showed that victories could be won by a combination of arms and ranks under firm leadership.

Recognition of the power of ashigaru units in armies was accompanied by a corresponding social change. One of the commanders on the winning side at Nagashino was Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who had begun his military career as an achierant. Hideyoshi's Enter Ya'emon had also

kanjo bugyō (finance commissioner)	3
gozozen shū (stores unit)	12
	+35 follower
nijunın shû kashira (20 man unit leaders)	10
	+20 each
ochügen kashira (chügen leaders)	10
odaidokoro (kitchen staff)	12
chado bozu kashira (in charge of the tea ceremony and Buddhist priests)	2
	+10
go uhitsu shū (secretaries)	3
shokoku otsukai shū (messengers from all provinces)	4
mukade no sashimono shū (the élite messengers with the centipede on their flags)	16
ohata bugyō (the flag commissioner)	1
oyari bugyō (the spear commissioner)	3
otogi shū (personal attendants)	12
ohata tatenashi betto (flag and groom)	1
rőnin shú kashira (leader of rőnin)	3
saiku bugyō (the works commissioner)	- 1
uma i (horse doctor, i.e. vet)	1
sarugaku shū (sarugaku players, i.e. actors)	1
	+followers

Many of the Takeda Twenty-Four Generals began their military life as pages to their lord. Note also the three men who would have the difficult task of commanding the roim, men of the samura class who had no master to fight for, and who had joined the Takeda effectively as mercenaries. The presence of a doctor for the horses is interesting, but it may well be that the personal attendants on Shingen had some medical skills. The sarugaku troupe sound like the Sengoku version of ENSA, but would have been for Shingaris personal enjoyment!

These figures would give a full Takeda army of 33,736, as follows:
Horsemen 9121
Two followers each 18,242
Ashagaru in the hatamoto-shoyakunin 5489
Other ashigaru 5489
Total 37,746

(from the Kôyô Gunkan in Senaoku Shirvô Sōshō, vols 3-5)

been an ashigaru in the service of Oda Nobunaga's father, Oda Nobunhide. During one battle 1'aremo mass shot in the leg and forced to withdraw from all combat duties. As a result, he lost the relationship he had with the Oda family and returned to the fields. His son, by contrast, rose through the ranks of Nobunaga's army, and the relationship developed with his promotion. Hidge-shil achieved samurat status, and after a series of brilliant campaigns went on to rule the whole of Japan.

Once Hideyoshi had achieved his goal, he began to pull up behind him the ladder of promotion that he had scaled so successfully. In 1587 he ordered a nationwide confiscation of all weapons from the pessantry, thus forcing all the daimyo in Japan to count on their own retainers to supply their amount of their own retainers to supply their amost some continued to rely on part-time soldiers and formers. But those that mospeced tended to make

a division between warriors and agricultural workers. Gradually the ashigaru, as fighting men, became separated from the soil, and turned into professional soldiers. This process was completed by Hideyoshir's successor, Tokiugawa leyasu, who brought the Sengoka Period to list close. By now the ashigaru were firmly recognised as the 'other ranks' of a Japanese army, without whom victories could not be gained. With the establishment of the Tokugawa legenomy there came a rigid separation of Tokugawa legenomy there came a rigid separation of the samurac class; and the ashigaru were there among them, being from then no officially defined in social terms as the lowest ranks of the samurac rather than the upper ranks of the peasantry.

With this acknowledgement of the ashigaru as samurai came further recognition in the form of a remarkable and unique book produced by a

and unique book produced by a leading samurai commander of the time. This work, entitled 20hp0 Mono patari, which translates literally as 'The Soldler's Tale', is a compilation written by a serving samurai who has had command of ashigaru and wishes to pass on to posterity his own tips on how to get the best out of these men. It was written by a certain Matsudaira Nobuoki. Nobuoki was the son of Matsudaira Nobusuan, who commanded the shogur's forces during the Shimabara rebellion of 1638, the last action in which samurai armies were to be enaged.

As the Shimabara rebellion was conducted by renegade Christian samurai and disaffected farmers against the Tokugawa army, Matsudaira Nobuoki may have learned several lessons from observing the tenacity and fighting skills of his



in this illustration from Zöhyö Monogatari two ashigaru spearmen are shown. They have short spears and cheap loan swords, but they appear to have used both to good effect as shown by the severed head carried as a trophy. opponents. Zóhvő Monogatari is a major source. but apart from its fascinating contents, its significance lies in the fact that it was written at all. The wars of the twelfth century produced a literature that concentrated almost exclusively on the individual prowess of named samuras. Zohvo Monoautari is a handbook for the commanders of ashigaru, a class of fighting man whom the writer of the Heike Monogatary, for example, preferred to regard as non existent

# The command structure in samurai armies

Until the mid-sixteenth century most armies were dishanded at the end of a campaign. Some samuras, and virtually all the ashigaru, would return to their lands to be summoned again when the need arose. But once the daimyo began to realise that their samurai and ashigaru were a precious asset that they could not afford to lose at the end of a campaign, systems of organisation were introduced that paralleled the move towards uniformity of equipment and appearance. The organisation of a samurai army took two forms: a hierarchical command structure, invariably headed by samurai, and a considerable degree of specialisation in weapons and functions.

The samural hierarchy depended on factors such as birth, hereditary vassalage, records of loyal service, and so on, and had a considerable social as well as military aspect. For the ashigaru, who made up the bulk of the army, the rank hierarchy was simpler, and stretched from ashigaru-taishō (general of ashigaru - a samurai rank) down to the unarmoured baggage carriers and casual labourers, while the fighting ashigaru role included three major weapon functions of arquebus, spear and bow, plus ashigaru who acted as samurai attendants, standard bearers, drum mers and the like.

The overall command of ashigaru units was vested in the respected and reliable samurai called ashigaru-taishō. The Takeda family provides the best example. In the Kövö Gunkan, the great chronicle of the Takeda compiled by one of Shingen's 'Twenty-Four Generals', several names appear under the list of ashigaru-taisho, for example:

"Yokota Jüröhei 30 horsemen, 100 ashigaru Hara Koza'emon 10 horsemen 50 ashigaru"

These figures probably indicate the men's

personal attendants only, as each would have responsibility for hundreds of ashigaru through a chain of command. Evidence that ashigaru-taisho were as highly regarded as were the commanders of purely samurai units is provided by the appearance of men bearing the rank of ashigaru-taisho within the élite of the Takeda family who were known as the 'Twenty-Four Generals'. As the closest associates of Takeda Shingen, these men formed the backhone of his command structure Saigusa Moritomo, killed at the battle of Nagashino in 1575, was an ashigaru-taishō, as was Hara Toratane who, it was said, could make ten ashigaru fight like a hundred samurai.

A good example of the command exercised by an ashigaru-taisho is Ōtō Nagato no kami, who held Tawara castle for the Hojo family at the time of Tovotomi Hidevoshi's expedition against them in 1590. He led more than ashigani, as the note shows. We do not have a detailed breakdown of weaponry but the Ötő army numbers off as follows:

dounted samurai	75
oot samurai	36
Ashigaru	115
hügen and komono (bearers)	26
Fotal	252

Turning to the rank below the ashigaru taisho. in the chronicle Yoshihika Monogatari, we read:

"To the blowing of conch shells the ashigaru-taishō of the fifty-man arquebus unit. Kumazawa Shūzei, Takahashi Shūkei, Shimura To'emon and the rest gradually sorted them out by pushing them into line."

The above quotation suggests a more 'hands-on' approach to generalship than might be expected from the rank of 'ashigaru general', and this impression is correct, because here the chronicler is using the term ashigaru taishō to describe a rank otherwise known as ashigaru kashira (captain of ashigaru). The ashigaru kashira would have command of an ashigaru company, which was more than likely to be differentiated in terms of weapon function. Some units could be quite small in number:

"In this third year of Temma (1617) Sakabe Saniūrō Hirokatsu has become ashigaru kashira of 50 men."

The possession of surnames indicates the growing tendency towards samurai rank acquired



This illustration from the Zöhyö Monogatari shows a teppó ko gashira, who would be in charge of an arquebus squad. He carries a 'swagger stick' of bamboo, in which is kept a spare ramrod. His ration bags are ued around his body and he has a fuse reel round his left arm.

by ashigaru as the century progresses. In the Köyö Gunkan we note:

"Lord Amari's ashigaru kashira, a person of merit in bow and arrow called Yonekura Tango-no-kami."

Beneath the ashigaru kashira were the leaders of the buntai (squads) called ashigaru ko gashira (lieutenants). In the Köyö Gunkan one ashigaru kashira has five ashigaru ko gashira serving under him to command his company of 75 archers and

75 arquebusiers, so that every ko gashira has responsibility for 30 men. At this level we see a mixture of men with surnames and others without them. In the Satomi family records:

"In charge of 30 ashigaru are the 200 koku Ryūzaki Yaza'emon, the 200 koku Shojūrō..."

The ashigaru ko gashira was a vital element in

the chain of command, because the ordinary ashigaru in their weapon squads served directly under him. The Zohyo Monogatari notes how a ko gashira was selected:
"In the firearms souads they were chosen on

the basis of marksmanship and speed of fire, the possession of a calm spirit, those who would not disengage when the enemy bullets began."

#### The ashigaru weapon squads

Most ashigaru on a hattlefield were assigned to the weapon squads who wielded the bows, spears and arquebuses described in the previous chapter. In 1592 the Shimazu army that went to Korea included 1500 archers, 1500 arquebuses and 300 spearmen, while in 1600 the Date family supplied the Tokugawa with 200 archers, 1200 arquebuses and 850 spearmen. One trend that can be readily identified is an overall increase in the number of firearms possessed, even if the proportion of them to other arms varies considerably. By the time arquebuses were introduced to Japan, missile weapons in the form of hows had already tended to become the province of the lower-class warrior. leaving the samurai free to engage at close quarters with a spear against a worthy opponent. It was therefore only natural that the new missile weapon. which had an even greater range, should be similarly regarded. However, some samurai chose to use arquebuses. Oda Nobunaga was trained in their use as a martial art, and we read in the Jusen Kidan (literally 'an account of gun fighting'):

"As a rule, on the battlefield, it is the job of the adjustment of face on to the enemy and fire arquebuses in volleys into the midst of the enemy. As for the arquebuses owned by samural, they are for shooting and bringing down an enemy of importance."

The arquebus men were under the direct command of a teppó ko gashira (lieutenant of the firearms squad). Judging by their representation on painted screens, a firearms unit would consist of a sense of groups of gunners, at least five per group, with each group accompanied by an archer. A number of these groups (between one and sky would be answerable to an individual ko gashina, but these numbers varied enormously from damyô to daimyô. The kog ashira was recognisable by his possession of a length of red-facquered bamboo reminiscent of a wageger stick, in which was kept a strong ramred in case any gunner's own ramred broke during action.

Some ashigaru archers were highly trained sharpshooters used as skirnishers, but their most important role was to share in the volley firing with the arquebuses. In the details given in the Koyô Gunkan of the vanguard of the Takeda army a reference may be noted to '10 arquebuses and 5 bows'. The role of the archers in such units was to provide cover while the gunners reloaded. Even though they had a shorter range than the

arquebus, and required a more practised operator, their rate of fire was far more rapid, and of course enemy arrows could be re-used. Their fire was supported by carriers who were at hand with large quiver boxes containing 100 arrows. The preferred range for shooting was from between 30 and 80 metres, and the bow had an extreme range of 380 metres. As noted earlier, the sensar used by the

ashigani were usually very long, and more akin to pikes. This is because a veryy-red different technique was expected for ashigani spear flighting. The samurai were regarded as individual spearmen who would engage in single combat with their weapons, while the ashigani worked as a group. Odd Nobunaga, who was probably the first to introduce disciplined ashigani spear units, possessed a contingent who made up 27 per cent of his fighting force.

This character from Zohyō Monogatari has the responsibility of carrying the daimyō's bow. It is supplied ready for action, being strung and mounted within a wooden frame, and with a quiver of arrows. compared to 13.5 per cent for matchlocks. In 1575 the Uesugi had ten spearmen for every matchlock man, and by about 1570 the breakdown of weaponry within the Höjö armies included between one-third and one-half of all men (samurai and ashigaru) armed with spears. Within the Takeda claim the proportion was between one-half and two-thirds. Their actual use on the battle-field is described lare:

#### The daimyo's personal attendants

In addition to the specialised weapon units, many of the men in a samura army were employed as of the men in a samura army were employed warriors' attendants and carriers. This does not necessarily imply a menial role, because to objects they carried were the personal possessions of high-ranking samurai, making the weapon carriers effectively the officers' bodyguards. Some titles may apone surprising. For example, For example,





This flag-bearer in Zöhyö Monogatari uses a leather pouch tied to his belt to support the weight of the shaft of the hata jirushi which he is carrying. The hata jirushi was a design of flag slung from a horizontal cross-piece with no side supports. He has bare fest, and no armour for the leas. His trousers are tied in for comfort.

are we to make of the role of the sandal-bearer (zori tori)? Was a samural so pampered that he could afford a lighting man to carry his spare footwear around? The reality of the situation was that the actual carrying of straw sandals was but one part of the duties of the zon tori, who was in close attendance on the lord. The great Toyotom

Hidevoshi began his career as Oda Nohunaga's sandal-hearer, and endeared himself to the latter by warming his master's sandals inside his shirt in cold weather. But apart from such duties, akin to those of an officer's 'batman', the zori tori made up one of that exclusive body of men who attended the lord directly. Some were ashigaru: some were senior retainers valued for their advice and experience, many of whom held the title of bugyo (commissioner). Others were the young sons of allies and retainers, who acted as pages and by their close proximity to the daimyo learned the art of the warrior. Great honour was attached to being the lord's mochivari gumi (spear-bearer) This man carried the samurai's personal polearm. and was highly regarded.

One other elite group consisted of the samurai known as tsukai, or messengers, who acted as aides-de-camp and provided the communication system on a battlefield. Their sashimono were always striking and elaborate, and often set off with the horo, which made them visible to friends and snipers alike. The leading Takeda messengers. for example, wore a flag with the appropriate design of a centinede. The most dangerous position of all, however, fell to the carrier of the uma-jirushi (standard, but literally 'horse insignia"). This was the device, often a flag, but usually a three-dimensional object, which served as the daimyo's personal standard. It therefore denoted his position on the battlefield, and attracted the heaviest fire.

The leading daimyo also possessed an o uma jirushi (great standard), which was the nucleus of the army on the battlefield. Some were carried in a leather bucket fastened to the ashigaru's belt, while very large ones were securely strapped into a carrying frame worn on the back. Ropes were provided for the ashigaru standard-bearer to steady it in a wind or on the run, and in the case of the very large examples two comrades would hold two separate ropes to keep it steady. Apart from these personnels were off flags for the demonstration of divisions and locations for troops. Many ashigaru were therefore employed in one way or another in carrying flags.

While the ashigaru, although sometimes casually recruited, were soldiers when in the army, there was another stratum of service beneath them. These were the lowly impressed or volunteer peasants whose role was that of carrying general equipment and supplies. Such men were called chilgen ('middle ones'), or komono ('lesser people'). They were issued with swords and lingasa during their service, but this was done with some reluctance according to the Zöhvö Monogatari, which notes that chugen had an unfortunate tendency to be clumsy and would drop their swords when drawing them, often cutting their own legs! The samurai mentioned above called Oto, a retainer of the Hoio. supplied a contingent of 252 men at the time of the Odawara campaign in 1590. The numbers included 26 who acted as baggage carriers. The expression chagen, however, is also frequently found in many old chronicles to identify fighting ashigaru, where excellent service is recorded.

# RAISING AN ARMY For most of the Sengoku Period, and among the

## The feudal obligation

majority of the samurai class, the notion of raising an army was a process that the samurai applied to others not to himself. The individual samuraiunless he was a part-time farmer, was expected to keep himself in constant military readiness, with armour, weapons and a horse. In addition he was expected to provide other troops in the lord's service, their number and equipment depending upon the samurai's recorded wealth, which was expressed in terms of the assessed yield of the rice fields he possessed. Such assets were measured in koku, one koku being the amount of rice thought necessary to feed one man for one year. This is how the ashigaru entered the story. The samurai knew exactly how many men he was required to take with him on campaign. Some would be other samurai, who were more than likely to be related to him in some way. The ashigaru would not have the same relationship, but as the years went by and casual recruitment became less common, a tradition of service to a particular samurai family would develop. A samurai's ashigaru followers, therefore, together with bearers and labourers, would be drawn from the workers on the samurai's lands, thus completing the final tier of feudal obligation.

As noted in the previous chapter, the trend during the Sengoku Period was to move away from a poorly trained infantry arm towards a more professional organisation with continuity of service. However, the pressure of resources ensured that most daimyo before about 1580 had to use their ashigaru in the dual roles of soldiers and farmers, and it was only when campaigns began to be of longer duration that problems arose with such a system. It was then inevitable that the wealthier landowners, who could spare men for fighting without affecting agricultural production, could prosper both economically and militarily. Success also bred success, because a victorious general would attract followers for both purposes, thus making it even easier to arrange a division of lahour

For most of the daimyo in the mid-sixteenth century therefore recruitment consisted simply of a call-to-arms among their part-time soldiery. It was said of the followers of Chosokabe Motochika that they were so ready for a fight that they tended the rice fields with their spears thrust into the earth of the pathways and their straw sandals attached to them. These enthusiastic soldiers served the Chosokabe well, enabling Motochika to gain control of the whole of the island of Shikoku. In 1585, however, these brave part-timers were defeated by the overwhelming force of Toyotomi Hidevoshi, who invaded Shikoku with his highly trained and modern army. The professionalism shown by Hideyoshi's army, who did little, if any, agricultural work, and were based in the barracks of castle towns rather than in outlying villages, was a development that most contemporary daimyō could not afford

When a general like Chosokabe exercised a call to arms, he knew what to expect, and a successful response had its basis in the feudal structure of Japanese society. The daimyo who prospered knew in minute detail the extent of the territory they owned. It was first defined geographically, being strategically controlled by a series of yamashiro (mountain castles), which were usually complexes of wooden stockades on forested hills. Within his main vamashiro the daimyo's advisers would compile detailed registers of landholding possessed by retainers, who held them in a system of mutual obligation. These men, who were of the samurai class, received lands from the daimyō, and in return were 'retained' in his service, hence the word 'retainer'. The most important aspect of this retained service was, of course, to serve in the daimyō's army, and to bring ashigaru and labourers along with him.

Further details of the requirements placed upon samura to provide ashugaru may be found in the records of the Hojo family. Like all daimyo, the Hojo kept detailed records of their holdings, and when a call to arms was issued their samural retainers knew exactly what was capected of them. For example, a certain Okamoto Hachirozaemonnojó Masanidue belonged to the Hojó daimyós go-urnawari-shi (personal bodyguard), based at service with brose, plus four samura (unmounted), six ashigaru spearmen, two ashigaru flag-bearers, and two others who would at a reserves.

As Okamoto belonged to an elite unit, the discharge of his obligation was almost certainly a longer term service than is implied by the phrase 'call-to-arms'. It is likely that both he and the ashigaru under his command were based almost permanently in Odawara castle, an impression strengthened by the fact that not only is the weaponry of his followers recorded, but also their names, indicating the continuity of service that was later to become universal. Incidentally, the names of his men show one fundamental difference between samurai and ashigaru, because the four samurai have surnames, while the ashigaru have none. During the time prior to Hideyoshi's Sword Hunt of 1587, when ashigary could fight their way to samurai status, the first acquisition was likely to be a surname. This neat illustration of class distinction reminds us that even though the ashigaru service was definitely valued, the samurai clearly recognised them as inferior beings. Even as late as 1615, the chronicle Bukō Zakki could note:

"At the time of honourable siege of Ōsaka, Hirasa Umanosuke, a retainer of Lord Tōdō, took along peasants from Iga as ashigaru."

The move towards the professionalisation of the ashigaru did not mean, however, that the levy of service from among the peasantry became a thing of the past. Okamoto's feudal obligations noted above are expressed only in terms of men providing military service. Other examples show



The chain of noroshi, or signalling beacons, used by the Takeda provided a fast and efficient means of communication between their capital at Tsutsu-jusaski (Köhu and outlying fortresses. This naroshi has been reconstructed at Sutama, a sumple yamashiro imountain castle) to the north of their territories where they abutted on to Uesugi lands. The brazzier is lit and pulled up high on a prost, (Photograph supplied by courtesy of the Sutama Board of Education, Yamanashi Prefecture)

how farmers could be called upon to provide service as carriers, labourers and grooms. These were the chûgen and komono discussed in the previous chapter, For campaigns of long duration, such as sieges, further demands would be made from among the population, both in number required and in the range of services offered. For example, the Takeda family operated a number gold mines, and the mmers were ideal people Is a use for tunnelling under an enemy castle's wals. A fascinating account of such non-combatant service is provided in the records of the Shimazu Familyon Satsuma in southers Kyūshū. In 1576 the Shimazu at attacked the fortress of Taksbaru, and in their callto-arms listed the following requirements, which went far beyond purely combat duty:

"Those holding one cho of ricefield, one man per chô, meaning two men, master and follower, providing their own rice for food. Besides, one attendant labourer shall be provided by the shrines and temples, and three draught horses shall be assessed upon the shrines and temples. Next, the implements to be carried: I te-kabushi, heepin 3 shake, width 2 shake (probably a wooden telepin 3 shake, width 2 shake (probably a wooden palisader); I hore, I broad are; I skikle; I saw; I hose; I addee; I so olerrier; Loof frome."

#### The mechanism of mobilisation

The records of the Hojo family shed light on the actual mechanism of the call to arms. When it was necessary for the army to assemble, either for an actual campaign, or for review and training purposes, those who would normally live out in the villages, i.e. nearly all the ashigam, and some of the lower-ranking samurai, would be advised by a runner who would give as many days' notice of the muster as was practically possible. Over the next few days the ashigaru would assemble his armour and weapons and make whatever repairs were necessary to his equipment. He would have been told to listen for the sound of the horagai (conch shell trumpet). drum or bell that would indicate the hour to move off. Early one morning, therefore, such a sound would ring out, and the ashigaru would meet one another on the road as they made their way to the agreed place of assembly. This might involve a twoor three-hour walk. Here they would be drilled and inspected by the samurai whose responsibility it was to supply these men for the Hojo war effort. Following the roll call, the samurai would lead the contingent in a march to the castle, where they would swell the numbers arriving. Once the entire army was assembled, a decision would be made about who and how many would stay behind to strengthen the garrison; then the Höjö samuraı and ashigaru army would set off to war.

Raising an army could proceed at an organised pace if the enemy were nowhere near. However, emergency situations such as an invasion of one's province did not allow the leisurely assembly described above. In such a situation the farmers needed to become ashigaru within hours rather than days, which implied considerable readiness and preparation on their part, and an efficient internal communications system to enable the callto-arms to be transmitted rapidly. The most successful daimyo to tackle this problem was Takeda Shingen, who was engaged in almost constant conflict with Uesugi Kenshin and Hojo Ulivasu. Each was constantly invading the others' territories, so there was a vital need for quick notification of a raid

To assist his communications, Takeda Shingen established a series of fire beacons known as noroshi throughout his territories. The word 'noroshi' literally means 'fox smoke'. Unlike the simple beacons which warned England of the approach of the Spanish Armada, Shingen's noroshi were elaborate affairs mounted on a threestorey wooden tower. The watcher stationed himself on the upper platform, while the beacon itself consisted of an iron bucket mounted at the end of a long tree trunk pivoted in its centre from a bracket fastened to the upper storey. On spotting the signal from the next beacon along, the watcher would hurry down the ladders and set fire to the combustible materials already prepared in the bucket. By pulling on ropes, the beacon bucket would be swung high into the air at a height of perhaps 25 metres above the ground. It is believed that Shingen used fire as a signal at night, and smoke during daylight hours. A noroshi tower has been reconstructed at Sutama, which lay at the edge of the Takeda territories where they bordered those of the Uesugi near to Kawanakajima. The system allowed observers on the edges of the Takeda territories to communicate directly with Tsutsungasaki (now Kōfu), the Takeda capital, by a series of beacon chains. The system was so efficient that a message could be sent from Sutama to Kofu in less than two hours over a distance of 160 kilometres.

By the burning of the beacons, supplemented by fast horses ridden by scouts who passed the call on to local runners, the population of the

#### MILITARY OBLIGATION TO THE SHOGUN, 1649

There are several examples in this work of schedules for the supply of retainers for a daimyô's service. The 1649 schedule of military obligation was the final one to be issued on which minor medifications, served for the remainder of the Tokugawa Period. The following applies to a samuran of hatamoto reads hasting a stinger of \$500 kelor.

ink, naving a supend of 5000 koku:	
Horsemen	5
Foot samurai	9
Archers	3
Arquebusiers	5
Spearmen	15
Reserve spearmen	3
Armour bearers	4
Bow carriers	2
Nodachi (long sword) bearer	1
Uma-jırushı (standard) bearers	3
Lesser standard (ko-uma	
jirushi) bearers	2
Hata-sashimono bearers	G
Sandal bearer	1
Hasamibako (chest) bearers	4
Umbrella bearer	1
Fodder bearers	2
Ashigaru	2 4 4 5
Grooms	4
Wakato (servant)	5
Arrow-box carriers	2
Bullet box carriers	2 2 5 1
Baggage carriers	5
Food box carrier	1
Priest	1
Samurai's grooms	5
Nagamochi guards	4 5
Komono	5
Total	104

Takeda territories was transformed into a fighting machine, multiplying tenfold the small permanent garrisons of samurai and ashigaru, and the large, 3000-plus umit that made up Takeda Shingen's personal bodyguard. In later years, of course, practically an entire daimyôs army would be permanently under the colours's but in the mid saxteenth

century the basis of ashigaru use was the call-toarms from known followers, employing these crude, but usually effective methods.

## Setting off to war

Once the troops had been assembled, the actual process of setting out for war was attended by much ceremony. This would be the case whether the muster was for a long campaign, or simply a farewell ritual immediately prior to the start of a battle. In ancient times, according to samurai legend, a battle would customarily begin with a blood-offering to the gods of war in the form of a human sacrifice. This would be either a captured prisoner or a condemned criminal, although there does not appear to be any written evidence for such practices continuing beyond the eighth century AD. During the time of the samurai, the blood-sacrifice was confined to the offering of severed heads after the battle rather than an actual sacrifice beforehand. Nevertheless, it is within the rituals of departure that we see the most striking expressions of religious belief among the samurai class.

Shintō prayers were offered to the kami (gods) of war, of whom the most important was Hachiman Dai Bosatsu, the deified spirit of the Emperor Öiin (201-312) and tutelary deity of the Minamoto clan; and no daimyo would dream of going to war without a visit to the kami of the local shrine. The shrine itself would probably have strong family connections, and might well enshrine an important and illustrious ancestor. Takeda Katsuvori made a point of visiting the shrine of his father, the late Takeda Shingen before setting off on the fateful campaign that ended in his defeat at the battle of Nagashino in 1575. But as well as Shinto rites, there were also many Buddhist elements and much ritual drawn from folk religious practices and religious Taoism Like a modern student facing exams, a Sengoku daimyn sought reassurance about the luck that would await him on campaign, and Taoist beliefs about good fortune permeate much of the ritual surrounding the departure for war.

There was thus a certain ritualistic element involved in the interpretation of omens as being either lucky or unlucky. Accidents could happen as the daimyō was preparing to leave, but these minor incidents could as easily be interpreted as promising good fortune rather than bad. For example, if the lord was thrown by his horse when preparing to go to war, it was only an unlucky omen if he fell off on the right-hand side. A fall to the left was considered lucky. Similarly, if the daimyo had the misfortune to break his bow, that was an unlucky omen only if the bow broke below the hand-grip. Other events for divination were a conclusion of ill-luck if the parade of departing warriors crossed to the lord's right, and good luck if it was to his left. One omen that the daimyo could do little to control was the behaviour of his horse. If it turned naturally towards the direction of the enemy, that was considered good luck, but it was had luck if the horse turned towards the general's own troops.

Matters of serious bad omen were sufficiently feared as to be declared taboo actions prior to setting off to war. Many involved Shintô notions of ritual purry, the most polluting elements being contact with blood, birth or death. Sexual intercourse before going on cannapaign was absolutely oforbidden, and the daimy of had to ensure that none of his clothes or equipment came into contact with a pregnant woman. In a similar vein, no samurat woman within 33 days of her having glven burth, or with a woman within 33 days of her having glven burth, or with a woman within 93 days of her having glven burth, or with a woman within 93 days of her having glven burth, or with a woman within 93 days of her having glven burth, or with a woman within 94 merchants decided.

The formal system of ommyddo (religious Taoism) provided a list of insuspicious dates to avoid for setting out to war. For the season of spring these were the 7th, 14th and 21st days of the lunar months. In summer it was the 8th, 16th and 24th. In autumn one should awouf the 9th, 18th and 27th, while for winter it was the 10th. 21st and 30th days. Taoist notions of lucky direction further forbade the daimyô from placing his sunt of armour in a north-facing direction.

On a more practical level, the ceremony of departure was centred around the simple need for a review of troops. With his army drawn up ready to march off, the dainiya would six, surrounded by his generals in a semi-circle against the backdrop of the maku, the large curtains used to screen the headquarters position from view. In the case of Uesugi Kenshin, whose departure ceremony the control of the control o

Only then would Kenshin go out into the courtyard to take his seat with his general. There he would partake of the traditional farewell meal, served to him with great dignity. There were three dishes, kach gun (idred chestmuts probably included for no reason other than the literal translation of the characters used is 'victory' chestmuts'), kombu (kej) – a basic ingerdent in Japanese cooking) and prepared awabi tabalone), all three of which were regarded as bringing good fortune. He would also drink sake (rice wine) served within three cups, one inside the other. The number three was regarded as bringing good hack from the divinations of the properties of the control of th

When the army was ready to move off, an attendant would tie the commander's sword round his waist, and then fasten on his quiver of arrows (although this was rarely encountered in the Sengoku Period). After this the dalmyó would stand up, take his signalling flan and receive the shoust of his assembled troops. There were vanous ways of doing this, but there were two shousts in common-the first being 'Eff' (Glory'), to which was given the response 'O' 'Fést'). Each could be repeated up to three times. This shoul was also given at the end of army would be lowered in front of the general while the flag bearer shouted, in all the world you alone are to be respected!

Traditionally the general would then mount his horse, put on his helmet, and the flags would be raised. Just before the procession moved off, a shinio prest would bless the army with chanting of prayers. Uesugi Kenshin would also re-dedicate to the war god Itachiman the Yoo of Hachiman which was a treasure of the Uesugi. After this, Kenshin would mount his horse, surrounded by his three barners: one with the first character of the name of Bishamon-tien, a flag bearing a red rising sun on blue (a fig. from an emperor), and the procession of the pr

There was one final small, symbolic ceremony, however, when a daimyô left the castle or mansion. As he walked out of the gate he would step over a kitchen knife. This may have been a sign of his determination to face up to his fate, or a gesture that no enemy would enter the castle

#### ETIQUETTE IN ARMOUR The Tanki Yoriaku provides some helpful tips on

how to behave while wearing armour. Some are clearly related to Taoist notions of lucky direc-

"When sitting down on the ground or floor do not put your left knee on the ground.

"When turning round do not turn to the right. "When you take off your armour, do not place it facing the north. It must always be placed facing eastwards.

"Besides the above things, there are many other like customs.

"The following sequence must be adopted when you are allowed to examine another's armour. You must look first at the mune no ita (front plate) then at the kusazuri, then at the sode, and fourthly at the helmet, but do not look inside the helmet or the soshitsuke (plate between the shoulders). The proper words of admiration or praise differ with the varying colours of the odoshi-ito (silken cords holding the laminations together) although if you say that it looks very brave or some similar words, it will always be polite.

during his absence. These elaborate rituals having been completed, the samurai army moved off on campaign

#### SAMURAL CAMPAIGN LIFE

On the march Once the army was assembled and reviewed, it would set off to war, and there are several accounts of armies leaving on campaign in parade formation. The Taikōki describes the order of march of the army of Toyotomi Hideyoshi as it left Kyöto in 1578 to fight along the coast of the Inland Sea on behalf of Oda Nobunaga. So many of the populace wished to see the spectacle that stands were erected along the streets! The order of march was as follows:

- 1. Flag-bearers
- 2. Arquebuses
- 3 Rosse
- 4. Long spears

"When exposing an armour to fresh air after the rainy season is over, put it in the bright sunshine with a piece of cloth over it, or you may expose it in the house for many days if it is fine. But upon dark or gloomy days it must be kept in the armour case.

"When you are fully armoured and cannot sit down very easily, you must kneel down on your right leg. When your right leg is tired you can change to the left.

"When thanking or saluting another person put both knees down to the ground or floor and clasp your hands on your knees, or you may bow forwards or put your head down, according to the rank of the person whom you are saluting.

"You may sit down in another position, with the heels together and the knees apart, but this is not a very good style of sitting. To sit down for a short time while addressing persons of higher rank you must put both knees on the ground, the legs close together and touching the ground with the points of all your toes and place your hands

- 5. Samurai on foot, armoured and with swords. in a double file
- Mounted samurai 7 The war drum
- 8. The shell trumpet (horagai)

upon your knees." (Garbutt 1912: 177)

- 9. The gong 10. The commissioner of samurai (musha
- hugyo)
- 11. Honourable messengers (o-tsukai)
- 12. Hideyoshi's spare horse 13. Hidevoshi's armour
- 14. Substitute ashigaru
- The multicoloured fukinuki (large streamer
- on a circular frame)
- 16. The middle guard foot samurai, in a double file
- 17. Tovotomi Hidevoshi 18. Hidevoshi's helmet
- 19. Hidevoshi's bodyguard
- 20. 100 samurai, variously armed
- 21. Small flags
- 22. Senior retainers

- 23. Messengers (tsukai)
- 24. Mounted samurai
- 25. Samurai on foot

The author estimated the host at about 12,500 men. At this time Hidevoshi was subordinate to Oda Nobunaga, but by 1589, when he commanded much of Japan himself, the army that Toyotomi Hideyosh: could command had grown considerably, and records for his advance eastwards to quell the Höjö of Odawara simply give the number of troops in each contingent, each of which must have been an army in itself:

1st Company 30,000 2nd Company 22,000

3rd Company 11.460

4th Company 17,000

5th Company 7900

6th Company 9400 7th Company 10,470

8th Company 8200

9th Company 20,070

To which were added provincial contingents, probably picked up as he advanced: "With the west of Hakone force in Suruga 3450

men, in Tötömi 1720 men, in Mikawa 2500 men. in Owari 3000 men, in Mino 1600 men. Total: 154,970 men." In addition, fifteen other daimyo mobilised

49.130 men, making a grand total of 204.100 men under Toyotomi Hideyoshi's command, to attack Odawara

The fine detail of an army off on campaign is of course lost in these overall figures. However, Date Masamune's army for Korea left Kyöto in grand style in March 1592, and was noted as it marched in front of the Jūrakutei Palace where Toyotomi Hidevoshi reviewed the troops. There were 3000 men in all under Date's command, who formed the third division of the procession after Maeda Toshije and Tokugawa Jevasu, and each tried to outdo the other in the magnificence of their retinues. Date Masamune's hatamoto (personal guard) were particularly splendid, and were recorded by Date Shigezane in the Joitsuki, which l paraphrase as follows:

"1st Company: Flag-bearers The great banner of the Date, bearing the mon of lovebirds in bamboo. followed by 30 flag-bearers, each with a dark blue nobori banner bearing a gold sun's disc."



The alternative use of an iron jingasa is shown in this illustration from the Zöhvő Monogatari where the ashigaru is cooking his meal in it while on campaian. He wears a long-sleeved kimono and has a cleaver thrust through his belt.

"2nd Company: Ashigaru Each in black armour with a gold sun's disc mon on the breastplate and backplate and wearing a pair of swords. Each was further embellished by a helmet in the shape of a gold 'witch's hat', 100 arquebuses 100 long spears 50 hows"

"3rd Company: 30 mounted samurai, including family members. Not to be outdone by the lowly ashigaru, each wore a black horo bearing a gold half-moon mon. Their horses were armoured, and they wore finely mounted gold swords with large scabbards. One retainer, Harada Munetoki, then aged 26, is recorded in a different account as wearing a huge 2 metre-long nodachi (long sword) slung across his back. The lord. Date Masamune himself, set off his suit of

armour with an extravagant crescent moon helmet crest '

Eight years later we may compare the composition of a reinforcement sent by Date Masamune to Tokugawa Jevasu in October 1600. It consisted of 3000 men, of whom 420 were mounted, and of the others 1200 carried arquebuses, 850 spears, and 200 were armed with bows. The remaining 350 men were probably reserves and flag-bearers. It is more than likely the troops would be identified by sashimono bearing the Date mon. Masamune was also well known for equipping all his samural in vukinoshita do armours of a stout plate construction. The bas-relief on the plinth of Date Masamune's statue in Sendai also shows his

samural each with a small crescent belinet crest. Once clear of the capital, the army's advance became more mundane. Discipline had to be

enforced, either by the divisional commanders, the lord of a particular clan army, or by the bugyo (commissioners) appointed by the daimyō. It is interesting to note that Tokugawa Ieyasu banned the carrying of the long ashigaru spears except when on the march, because in camp they would have been a considerable safety hazard. Tokugawa levasu's senior commanders went a long way towards enforcing discipline. At Odawara in 1590 Gamō Ulisato noted a samurai in a very ostentatious helmet who was not keeping his place in the march and causing disruption. When the man persisted in this disorderly conduct. Uijsato drew his sword and took the man's head off with one strake. He gave the helmet to another samural, and discipline was much improved

Horses, of course, could to be as unruly as humans, but it was humans who had the responsi-

#### ARMY DISCIPLINE - 1590

When Tokugawa Jevasu set un camp as part of the army investing Odawara castle in 1590, he issued the following regulations

"If anyone advances or reconnoitres without orders he shall be punished.

"Anyone who presses on too far forward, even though to make a name for himself, is a transgressor against military law and will be punished with all his family.

"Anyone who is found trespassing in another company without proper reason shall be deprived of his horse and arms. And if his master objects he shall be held extremely culpable. And when anyone has to pass through on some duty way shall be made for him and he shall go straight through without loitering.

"When troops are on the march none shall go by-ways. This fashion must be strictly impressed upon them. If any move in a disorderly fashion their leader will be held culnable.

"Anyone who disobers the order of the bugyo will be punished

"When troops are on the march all flags, guns, bows and spears are to be carried according to fixed order, and they are to march at the command of the bugyo. Any disorder will be punished.

"Except when in the ranks it is forbidden to go about carrying long spears. One spear of this type may be carried before the commander when on horseback

"Anyone letting a horse stray in the camp will be punished.

"As to the baggage train, strict orders are to be given that they are to be allotted a proper place so that they do not get mixed up with the troops. Any who do will be put to death on the snot

"Without orders no one may seize any man or woman and take them. Should anyone take and conceal such a person his master shall correct the matter, and if any case shall come to light of his neglecting to do so that leader's fief shall be confiscated. And the vanguard shall not, without orders, set fire to any houses in enemy territory.

"Violence and intimidation of tradespeople is strictly forbidden. Offenders will be nut to death on the spot.

"Anyone who strikes camp without orders will be punished.

" May all the gods of Japan both great and small pay attention!

"May they blast without pity any who transgress the above orders!" (Sadler 1937: 161)

bility for them. The Zōhyō Monogatari provides the following recommendations for grooms and others who have charge of horses:

"When setting out, while two men take the honse deal with its equipment. First take the horse, the nose twister, the bit, the bridle and the reins and pull them over its head. The belly band and pull them over its head. The belly band and then the leather stirrup straps are fitted and then calquisted. At the shode on the left front put the rice, on the right the small pistol (in a holsten). On the right the small pistol (in a holsten) to the trar shode to the left and right a bag of syo beans, and on the maewa (pommel) the saddle bag while on the shitzuwa (saddle rearp put a feed bag of dried boiled rice. Always tether the horse with a rope. Take the little leather strap near the nose, and pull against the bit. When feeding you can remove the bit."

(The shiode are the four metal rings at the four corners of the saddle, from which decorative tassels were suspended.)

Horses needed a lot of attention once the army began to come to grips with the enemy:

"When taking horses on a raid you must be particularly careful. Young horses may break free and will get excited. Because of this an army could be defeated, so this must be strictly forbidden. Keep them well tied up to avoid this."

Rivers provided one of the major obstacles to an army on the march, and much samurai ingenuity was brought to bear on the problem. One simple solution was an insistence that all samurai should be able to swim, a point made by Tokugawa Jevasu in a communication to Tôdô Takatora to the effect that there were two things that even the Lord of the Empire should practise; riding and swimming. The young levasu used to swim regularly at Okazakı with his retainers, and even in his seventies he is recorded as swimming in the moat of Edo castle. In later years 'schools' of swimming developed in much the same way as schools of other martial arts. One particular speciality of samurai swimming techniques was the ability to swim whilst wearing heavy armour. The aim was not merely to stay affoat in an emergency, or even to swim distances, but to use weapons, particul larly bows and arrows, while treading water. Exercises included holding a fan between one's fingers or toes while treading water, swimming or floating.

The Heike Monogatari notes that Taira Munemori was a strong swimmer, and there are two well-known incidents from the Gempei Wars where samural swam their horses across rivers into the attack. Various forms of lifebelts were designed to help less strong swimmers to cross areas of water. One device was known as an uki-hukurn, which was a lifebelt consisting a number of cork floats put side by side, the largest in the middle. The description states that 'one who can swim well wears it round his waist, one who cannot swim wears it round his chest'. The Geijutsu Hiden Zue shows ashigaru with two different types of buoyancy aid. One consists of two pieces of wood tied under the armpits and upon which the arms rested. In some cases these are supplemented by a hag-like float. Guns are carried well clear of the water. Large-calibre pieces are floated across the river on little wooden rafts pulled by the swimming ashigaru.

#### Supplies and the baggage train

The least glamorous command for a samurai was to be placed in charge of the packhorse battery. This was nevertheless a very important function, The samurai in charge was known as the konida bugyo (commissioner for packhorses), and he would have serving under him a number of samurai and ashigaru who would both guard and supervise the chugen and komono who did the actual carrying and pulling. Even the great Tokugawa levasu served his time as a samurai in charge of a pack unit, and in 1559 earned considerable glory by slipping into Odaka castle a detachment carrying much-needed supplies, while diverting the garrison's attentions. As well as packhorses, bales of rice were carried on men's backs, or on two-wheeled carts pushed and pulled by bearers. Larger carts, pulled by oxen, were also used, and were particularly handy for transporting heavy cannon. European cannon were usually supplied only as barrels, and without a carriage.

When going on campaign, food supplies for men and horses were of equal importance to the carrying of weapons and equipment, and the Zöhvö Monogatari has a lot to say on the matter:

\*Normally take food for ten days but not more. If continuing on a road for ten days distance, use pack horses, and do not let them fall behind.

# COMMANDING THE RAGGAGE TRAIN -AN HONOLIBARIE POSITION

To be placed in command of the baggage train was probably the least attractive position for a samurai of renown, a feeling shared by Naitō Masatovo in 1569, and recorded in the Kövő Gunkan. When the Takeda army were returning towards Köfu following their unsuccessful attempts at besieging no less than three Höjö fortresses, they were ambushed in Mimasetoge (the pass of Mimase) by Höjö Ujiteru and Höjö Ujikuni:

"On this occasion Shingen made the baggage train go with the vanguard. The one ordered to take this post was Naito Masatovo. However, Naitō was very much a fighting samurai, and he humbly appealed to Shingen over his appointment to such a position as commanding the baggage train. In response to this Shingen said, 'Formerly (Uesugi) Kenshin willingly divested himself of his baggage train. and was defeated by Odawara ti.e. the Höjöt. This is a responsible position."

The reference to Uesugi Kenshin is in connection with Kenshin's own attempt to besiege Odawara, which happened in 1561. Kenshin allowed the baggage train to get cut off from the rest of the army. The following day the konida bugyō (baggage train commander) took command of the situation.

Nowadays 45 days allowance can be taken, but no more than three or four days should be forced on to a horse, but whether in enemy territory or that of allies there should be no unpreparedness. In such cases take food with you or you will have to seize food from allies, which would be foolish and also theft... As for the horse's food, store it safely in a bag when raiding enemy territory, do not abandon anything, and if suffering from hunger in a camp eat the vegetation. The horse can stick to dead leaves. It will also eat refined pine bark... As for firewood 80 monme is sufficient for one person for one day, and all can gather it together. If the place has no firewood take dried horse dung and use it as firewood. As for rice, for one person allow six go, and 1 go of salt for ten people, for

muso (fermented soy bean paste) allow for ten people two go, but when there is a night battle and so on the amount of rice should be increased. The rice kept by the servants to be brewed into sake can be eaten..."

Stealing food from allies was disapproved of. but looting was sometimes necessary if a campaign proved to be of long duration and one was in enemy territory. There are some useful tips for successful looting in the Zöhvö Monogatari:

"Food and clothing may be buried inside houses, but if it is buried outside it may be concealed in a pot or kettle. (If you suspect) such things are buried in the ground, visit during an early morning frost, and at the places where things are buried the frost will disappear, and many things may be discovered."

However, the ashigaru foragers are warned to be careful of booby traps left by an enemy.

"Remember that a dead person's blood may have contaminated the water supply you drink. You should never drink the water from wells in enemy territory. It may be that faeces have been sunk to the bottom. Drink river water instead. When provinces are taken over take care with the water."

Several useful survival tips may be gleaned from the pages of Bansen Shūkai compiled in 1676 by a certain Fujibayashi Masatake, Although purporting to be 'secret ninia lore', some of its recommendations are very matter-of-fact, and probably derive more from the handed-down experience of rough campaigning life, like Zohvó Monogatari, than from any particular esoteno ninja wisdom. There is a useful tip on how to cook rice if you are on campaign and have no cooking pot. Soak the rice and wrap it in leaves or in a cloth bag, then bury it in the ground and light a fire over it. One recalls Tokugawa Ieyasu's famous recommendation that his foot-soldiers should be issued with light iron helmets so that they would receive a degree of protection, and would also have a handy substitute cooking pot Sea water, notes the Bansen Shûkai, can be purified by boiling it in an unglazed earthenware pot because the salt soaks into the sides. The Zőhvő Monogatari advice on water purification is even more esoteric than the supposed ninsa wisdom:

"In camp it is a good idea to drink water which has been in a pot with apricot kernels in silk, or The supply of food and ammunition to an army depended upon having an efficient packhorse battery. In this illustration from the Zohyō Monogatari a komono leads a packhorse carrying two rice bales made of straw and an identifying flaa.



put into the pot some freshwater snails brought from your own province and dried in the shade, and that water supply will be good to drink."

The Bansen Shākai has two recipes for emergency foodstuffs, one for pills to stave off thirst, and one for pills to reduce hunger: "thirst pills, quantities in monme: 4 of the flesh of umeboshi (pickled plums) 1 of korizato (crystallised sugar or rock candy) 1 of winter wheat"

The mixture is crushed by a stone and made into pills. For the hunger pills the recipe is more complicated. Quantities are again in monme:

Preparina food while on campaign, from a copy of the Gosannen War Scroll owned by the Watanahe Museum. Tottori. In each case the samurai uses chopsticks to hold the food while he cuts with a knife. On the left, sashimi (raw fish) is being prepared, while on the right the dish appears to be a wild duck.





Resting from the Gosannen War, the commander of the army, Minamoto to the army, Minamoto to the the the the the the tishine, as the the the the field curtains used on campaign. He is wearing full yards armaur with an eboshi cap. Two attendants sice up sushimi (raw fish) and handle it walt chopsticks. Their open work guivers are dearch illustrated.

- 40 of ginseng
- 80 of buckwheat flour
- 80 of wheat flour
- 80 of mountain potato 4 of chickweed
- 40 of 'vokui' (nine?) kernels
- 40 of 'yokui' (pine?) kernel 80 of glutinous rice

The above ingredients are mixed together and soaked in three sho of sake for three years. When the sake has all dried up, the resulting mixture is rolled into balls the size of a peach. Three should be sufficient for a day's campaigning.

# Medical care on campaign

The Zohyó Monogatara even has a section on medical care. As well as being interesting in its own right, it is convincing proof that the wounded in a samurai army, including the ashigaru, were cared for, and not left to die. It is also a useful counter to the popular notion of a samurai being prepared to commit hara-kir on the slightest pretext, although the paragraph concerning arrow wounds with which this section ends may have encouraged it in all but the toughest campalgner!

"If breathing is a problem, keep some umeboshi (pickled plums) in the bottom of your bag. This always works. Eaten alone they dry up the throat and preserve life. Umeboshi are of great importance as medicine for breathing." It can also be very cold on campaign, and the padded haori Jacket or straw raincloak were often not enough.

"Concerning pepper grains, in both summer or winter take one each in the mornings, this will ward off the cold and encourage warmth. This can be varied by taking umebosh. If you apply, squashed red peppers from the hips to the tips of the toes you will not freeze. It is also good to daub it on your arms too, but avoid the vees and the eveballs."

The Bansen Shukai also recommends a medicine to resist frostbite in winter. It is so similar in style to the Zôhyō Mongalari account that one must assume a use beyond that of practising ninja. The ninja is supposed to rub shikimi (star anise) oil on to his torso.

The most dramatic advice in the Zôhyō Monogatari concerns the treatment for snake bite in a biyouac:

"When lying down in a camp in a field or on a mountain, if an adder bites don't get over excited, speedily apply one monme of gunpowder to the spot. Set fire to it and the virulence will quickly disappear, but if it is delayed it will not work"

There follows further advice on wound treatment on the battlefield:

"Mux horse dung in water and apply to the torso. Bleeding will be reduced and bruises will quickly heal. It is also said that even drinking horse's blood will make bleeding reduce. This is Two samurai attempt to remove an arrow from a comrade's face using iron pincers, from a copy of the Gosannen War Scroll owned by the Watanabe Museum, Tottori, The process looks remarkably similar to the operation described in Záhvá Managatari five centuries later. Note the open basketwork auivers worn by the soldiers.



because the horse's blood will not pass through. But eating dung makes it worse..."

"If a bruise is aching urinate in a copper hat. Let it go cold and wash with it, and the place with the cut will become much better... If the blood is a persimmon colour then there is poison in the wound. In the case of a wound in the area round the cyeball a twisted paper string must be wound round the head. Apply hot water."

Traditional herbal remedies (noted in the Bansen Shûkai and elsewhere) could also be used. A sword wound was best treated with mashed narcissus root. Cuts from sharpened bamboo were treated with a wheat flour paste. Pulverised leeks were applied to gunshot wounds, and cuts from iron objects were held over the smoke from burning rags. Scalds were treated with a mixture of tannin and ink. The most gruesome account in the Zóhyo Monogatari concerns the methods for extracting arrowheads:

"Tie the hair up in a bag and use chopsticks to pull the arrow out. If it is not possible to pull the arrow shaft out using the hands, pincers may be employed. With these it should be possible."

It is interesting to see these techniques illustrated on the Gasannen War Scroll, painted several centuries earlier. For removing an arrow stuck through the cheek:

"The head must not move, so fasten it to a tree, and with the head tied to a tree like a cruciflyion

gently, but while doing this the eye socket will be filled with blood."

Such were the realities of campaign life. horrors that would become much more acute once battle was joined. But before a battle could begin. the enemy had to be located and contacted, and this was the role of the scouts. Great bravery was expected from the samurai who acted as scouts for an army. Some would be the élite Isukai (messengers), but more usually the role would be played by samurai who were particularly good horsemen. Contact having been made, the army on campaign became an army prepared for battle. This will be discussed shortly, after a study of one very important battle situation, the defended castle

#### THE CASTLE IN SAMURAL WARFARE

#### Control by castles

The acquisition, possession and loss of a castle were common events during the Sengoku Period. but once the trend towards larger armies developed, the castle became not only a barracks for the troops, but a symbol of the daimyo's authority. Of all the Sengoku daimyō, the Hōiō of the Kantō provinces were most firmly associated with castles. and with one castle in particular. Odawara, which for over a century acted as fortress, daimyo's residence and commercial centre. It withstood two early attempts at siege, and finally surrendered only to the overwhelming force provided by the huge army of Toyotomi Hideyosh in 1590.

The first Odawara castle was built in 1416 by the Omon family, who held the fortress until it was taken from them by 1406 50an in 1493. After Soun's death his son Ujtsuam moved the 1409 administrative capital to Odawara. It was well defended on all sides, with a 40 mere-high keep which was built at the north-west, the weskest pour the standard defence. The southern part for the standard defence the southern part of the southe

Although Odawara provided their 'battleship' for one hundred years, the Höjö never reled on Odawara acting alone, because this mighty fortress was the main castle thonjoi of a network of satellite castles (shijō) arons the Höjö territones. To some extent the satellites operated independently of Odawara, and from the 1560s onward also provided a basis for administering captured lands. The Höjö companies listed in the 1559 register were largely based around this satellite system, and known according to their castle, as

in the table below:

Edo Toyama Nirayama Hōjō Ujinori Yamanaka Matsuda Hachigata Hōjō Ujikuni 
 Hachioji
 Hojo Ujiteru

 Kawagoe
 Tominaga/Daidōji

 Matsuyama
 Ueda/Daidōji

 Tamanawa
 Hōjō Ujitada

 OShi
 Narita

 Iwatsuki
 Hōjō Ujifusa

Hőiő Hiitaka

Kotsukue

The most important satellites were controlled by Holjó Family members, such as Höjö Ujlkum (1541-97), the third son of Höjö Ujlyasu, who was adopted into the Fujuaf amily and held the important Harchigata castle in northern Mussahi province, In 1588 Ujlkum withstood an attack on Hachigata by Takeda Shingen, and by 1590 he commanded 5000 men at Hachigata, more than any other Höjö castellan. Ujlskum's trusted independence is shown by the power he had to act as local Iord. In 1589 bregranted a certain Konoshita Cenzaemon 45.8 kannon in return for supplying to Hachigata his own service as mounted samurai, plus one sovarman, one other ashbazur and a flase-bearer.

Hachigata was also the hub of its own set of "sub-statifile" castles where fire becone could be it, or conches and drums sounded when the weather was bad, to communicate with the parret garmon Ujikani's most powerful retainer, Inomata Kuninori, commanded Numata castle, one of two satellites of Hachigata. The same system was used by the Uesuga and Takeda, the former having no less than 97 in Echigo province alone. Few of the sub-satellites were formidable buildings like Odaward or even Hachil.



The site of the yamashiro imountain castle of Toda castle is opical of this early style of fortress. The castle buildings would have occupied the whole of the wooded area shown here. Toda was an Amako possesson until captured by the Mori. On the buff to the left two wooden buildings have been reconstructed.

gata. Most would consist of a hilltop redoubt (yamashiro) with palisades, barracks, an armoury and a clearing to build fire beacons.

Inomata Kuninori also covered four minor outposts of Numata as sub-sub-satellites. These little castles were not intended to withstand a long siege, but were more like muster points and duty stations. They often depended upon part-time samurai, but were always well stocked in case of an emergency. In 1588 the sub-sub-satellite of Gongenyama had 252 men as its garrison. defended by a certain Yoshida Sadashige with 27 mounted and five foot samurai, 21 arquebusiers and 202 other ashigaru. Yoshida Sadashige was also required to supply from his own resources a 20-man arquebus troop, plus personal service of one mounted samurai (Sadashige himself) accomnanied by one flag-bearer, one arquebusier and two spearmen, all for a 150 kan grant. The overall chain of command for this example was therefore: The current Headquarters Odawara castle

		Hōjō daimyō	
Satellite	Hachigata castle	Hőjő Újikuni	
Sub-satellite	Numata castle	Inomata	
		Kuninori	
Sub-sub-	Gongenyama	Yoshida	
satellite	castle	Sadashige	
A detailed list of Gongenyama castle's artillery was			

also sent to Hōjō Ujikuni:

"I large matchlock; 50 small matchlocks; 69 large shot; 1200 charges of powder; 1350 matchlock balls: 1500 arrows: 10 long spears." In addition, Yoshida Sadashige personally

provided the following items: 15 matchlocks; 1500 charges of powder; 1 chest of powder; 3200 matchlock balls; 200 long spears; 100 arrows, 3 bows; 20 large but damaged

cannonballs; 10 bags of provisions. A further example is found in the records for 1570. A certain Hasebe Hyögonosuke headed the Omaeda company under Höjö Ujikuni. Their troop of five mounted and six foot were exempt from castle repair duties, an onerous task described more fully below, and in 1570 they received a promotion. The foot samurai were ordered to obtain horses and to deliver 50 bags of barley to Hachigata as a token of their loyalty, thus incorporating them into his own vassal band.

# Castle building and maintenance

Sakasai, in a rural area to the north of Tokyo, was another of the castles of the Hojo family. The whole area of Sakasai castle has recently been excavated, and a section has been rebuilt to show a typical wooden Sengoku fortress. On the inside of the walls we note the biggest difference from comparable fortresses in Europe. There were no parapets and walkways as such, Instead the timbers which were part of the walls' construction were left protruding inwards. When required, planks were laid across them to form the ishi uchi tana (stone throwing shelf), from which archers,

#### FROM DEFENCE TO ATTACK

There are several examples in the war chronicles of samurai making sallies from within a defended castle so that they could come to grips with the enemy. The following example is from the Ou Eikei Gunki, and relates to the defence of Hataya castle in 1600;

"From within the castle two horsemen, who gave their names as Watanabe Anza'emon and Yukii Genza'emon, were of great merit, Both, dressed in black laced armour and carrying nodachi (extra long swords), advanced against the great host of the enemy. They were forced to escape back inside the palisade, the gaps in their armour showing in red the many places were they had been pierced. 'Let's go and meet the enemy general" they shouted, and splitting up they entered the great army. Keeping unwaveringly to their determined purpose they attacked furiously as far as Miyabe's bodyguard. Watanabe mowed down Miyabe's page Sato Shūzen, killing him there and then. Yukii exchanged blows with Yasunaga, and was killed at that moment. Next the castle commander Gohei, who was wearing a persimmon-coloured katabira (thin morning kimono) and carrying a hand spear, with his two loyal sons and 60 other superb horsemen, charged out as one and smashed into the enemy lines ... fighting with the madness of death," (Sengoku Shirvō Sōshō 2nd series, Vols 3-4)

and later gunners, were able to discharge their weapons over the top of the walls or through specially cut slits and windows. The mound down to the ditch in the reconstruction of Sakasai is of grassed earth. Elsewhere on the site a wooden watch tower has been rebuilt. This is again of a simple open construction.

At places such as Hachigata, stone could be used for the bases of the castle towers and gates, as it was for the huge foundations of the multistorey keeps of the major fortresses such as Odawara. The technique was to build a massive earth core, which was cut out of a hillock if such were available, and then to face it with large blocks of stone that sloped outwards quite markedly. The blocks were due deenly into the surrounding earth, and thus provided a secure foundation to take the weight of the castle tower buildings. Matsunaga Hisahide was the first daimyo to raise a tower keep at his castle of Tamon in 1567, but few examples have survived from the sixteenth century. Maruoka castle keep was built in 1576. It collapsed during an earthquake in 1948 but was rebuilt using the original materials. Matsumoto was constructed in 1597, and has survived virtually intact. Inuvama dates from 1600, and it was long believed that the keep was moved from an original site at Kanayama, where it had been built in 1537, but recent repair work did not support this theory. Hikone's keep started life in Otsu in 1575, and was moved to its present site in 1606. Matsue, built in 1611, still retains its original location and appearance, while Himeii reflects its rebuilding between 1601 and 1612.

The foremost authorities on castle building were the Anou masons, who played a major role in building nearly two dozen large castles, including Tokugawa Jevasu's castle of Edo. First appearing as castle builders in 1577, these masons from Omi province had long specialised in building the foundations of Buddhist temples, and by the end of the sixteenth century became renowned for their method of building steep 45-degree stone walls using the natural shape and texture of stones, according to an advanced form of trigonometry. Gatehouses, keeps and corner towers were also built with stone bases, and gradually the earlier openwork wooden towers seen at Sakasai gave way to stronger yet more graceful multi-storev build-



ings with curved and tiled roofs that are found in surviving examples of castle construction.

The stone-base design also had the advantage of providing the best resistance to earthquakes. which have always been a problem in Japan. The great disadvantage, of course, was that a wall that slopes outwards is ideal for attackers to climb, but once again lapanese ingenuity came to the fore. and trapdoors similar to European machicolations were built into the towers, which later were also made to slightly overhang the stone bases. Kumamoto castle in Kvůshů is the best example of this. Arrows could therefore be shot down on to the heads of attackers, in addition to allowing the dropping of rocks or the pouring of boiling water. Woodblock prints show the simple use of stones as projectiles, which would bounce off the curved walls and create havor. Huge logs, held up by ropes until required, could also be employed in this fashion.

Big or small, all castles required maintenance. and many fascinating records have survived of this process. In 1587 Höjö Ujıkunı ordered the Opposite page: The tower keep of Matsumoto castle, built in 1597 on the site of the Takeda fortress of Fukashi. Matsumoto is the oldest of the surviving original Japanese castles.

Right: The reconstructed corner tower and most walls of the Héjó castle of Sakasai. Note the wood and plaster walls and the minimal use of stone. Compared with the later tower keeps finished with the and plaster, this wooden tower is more reministent of a fluid between the state tower to a fluid batter temple than a Japanese castle, but is correct for the carry to mid-Sarapaka Period. (Photograph by courtesy of Sakasai-chō Board of Education)

Below: Another view of the corner tower of the castle of Sakasai, showing also the bridge across the dry moat. (Photograph by courtesy of Sakasai-cho Board of Education)







A section of wall and the openwork observation towns from the reconstructed castle of Sakasai. The grassy bank slopes steeply down to a wet moat. This tower would have been typical of castles of this size, and provided the distant outlook later to be supplied by the tower keep. (Photograph by courtes) of Sakasai-chô Board of Education)

vants must come and make repairs. Your area must be policed once a month. The rope joints on the walls must be fixed and fraved knots renaired during the last four days of the month. When the work is completed, it must be reported to Uijkuni. If he is away from the castle, it must be reported to the appointed official. If a single person fails to perform his duty, a punishment will be imposed. Care must be taken regarding the materials used. The members of the company itself must take care that the labourers they bring with them use the right materials and are not negligent."

The villagers thus impressed worked from the drum of dawn to the beil of evening. An earlier note, from 1563, spells out in more detail the process of repair. Barring typhoons, the walls were to be repaired every five years, at four persons per ken per day. The villagers

had to bring with them five large posts, fifteen small posts, ten bamboo poles, ten bundles of bamboo, thirty coils of rope, and twenty bundles of reed. The instructions were as follows:

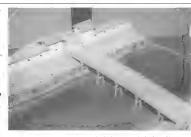
"At intervals of one ken on top of the earthworks drive in the large wooden posts. Place the bamboo poles sideways between them, and arrange four bundles of bamboo on top using the small posts, fastened by six coils of rope and then thatched with the reeds."

These walls were coated with a mixture of red clay and rock. Some castle walls were tiled above, rather than thatched, and the plaster finish could be given a top coat of white, lending the Japanese castle its characteristic graceful appearance.

commander of a company in Hachigata, Chichiba Magojirio, to maintain a 174 ken stretch of walks plus one tower and three gates in that section. Most men under hum had the responsibility for 2 ken each, so at four labourers per ken, the Chichibu contingent had to supply about 700 men to work on the walls of Hachigata. The written order for the work is in marked contrast to the usually accepted role of the sammaris wife:

"If there is damage to the gates, tower or embankments, you are to make the repairs first on the castle even if your own homes have been damaged. If there is damage due to typhoons, you must immediately make the repairs. If you are away on campaign, then your wives and maidser-

The bridge across the moat to the Ösaka castle that existed at the time of the siege of 1614-15 is shown here in a model in Ösaka Castle Tower Museum. The comparatively crude design of the aateway is clearly shown. The ianterns slung out on ropes provided illumi nation and a warning in case of a maht attack. A rough fence



# closed off the wet The castle garrison

moat.

The defence of a castle, of course, relied on more than stout, well-maintained walls. The men of the garrison were vital. Depending upon the size of the castle, the garrison could be permanent, rotated, or kept as a skeleton force. For example, the Arakawa company, located a few kilometres from Hachigata castle, were ordered to run to the castle when they heard the conch sound an attack. An order from 1564 relating to Hachigata has been

preserved, which requires the leaders of 'company number three', consisting of thirteen horsemen and thirty-eight foot-soldiers to relieve 'company number two' and serve fifteen days' garrison duty.

Garrison life in a samurai castle was a matter of constant readiness, with its own, sometimes boring routine. The Hojo had a strict system for the samural of mighty Odawara. In 1575 they were required to muster at their designated wall prior to morning reveille. When the drum beat indicated



the only remaining gate of Tottori castle. site of the 200-day starvation siege of 1581. Tottori was a vamashiro (mountam castle) built using the natural defences of the hillside. The gate is therefore covered in defence from above It has iron reinforcements and spiked nails protrudina from it

This picture shows

the dawn, they would open the gates in their sector to the town outside. Guard duty lasted for six hours during the day, with a two-hour break. The gates would be closed at dusk when the evening bell tolled. Guards were mounted at night, and had strict instructions not to trample on the earthen-work walls. When off duty, their armour and weapons were stored at their duty stations. In 1581 the Höjö orders for Hamaiba castle included some important considerations of

hygiene and safety:

"Human excrement and horse manure must be taken out of the castle every day and deposited at least one arrow's flight from the castle. Troops may not leave the castle for unauthorised reasons. If someone does leave he will be executed and the person in charge will be severely punished. Guards must be posted in the towers day and night. The utmost care must be taken at night to prevent fires and to must a maintain multi-attack.

The Do Elsen Cunki, a chronicle which deals with wars in the north of Japan, describes the extra preparations a garrison had to make when threatend with a siege. The following descriptions conin the section that describes the defence of Hataya castle in 1600 by Eguchi Gohel. Note how the castle is prepared for assault, which the attackers then convert into a sleew when the stack is resisted.

'One of Yoshiaki's retainers called Eguchi Cobel kept the castle of Hataya, on the Yonezawa road. When he heard of the treacherous gathering at Aizu, he immediately replastered the wall and deepened the ditch, piled up palisades, arrows and rice, and wated for the attack. The vanguard were under the command of Kurogane Sona2'e-monnojo, with 200–300 horsemen. He sounded the conch and the bell to signal the assault. As those in Itataya were approached by the enemy they attacked them vigorously with bows and good of the concentration of the concentration of the control of



Above: Important details of the process involved in building a tower keep for a castle of the late Sengoku Period are shown in this fascinating model in Nagahama Castle Museum. On the right, the earth core, carved out of a mountain, is out away to show how the sloping outer stone surface is constructed. A large dressed stone is wheeled forward on a curl. The curpeniers are busily putting together the wooden framework of the keep within a light scaffolding of work are form, a group of workmen, some supported on a cradific, the first root supports are in place on the left, Foreneen with fans encourage their staff to areaster efforts.

Opposite page, top: An unusual view of a Japanese keep from above is provided by this picture of the secondary tower of Fushimi Momoyama cattle near Kylot. Ershimi Momoyama is a modern reconstruction, but gives a very good tide of the layout of castle buildings from this angle, showing the courtyards and interlockina roofs.

Opposite page, bottom: The inner walls and most of Ssaka castle. The growth of trees is probably the only difference from the sight that would have met the eyes of the troops of the Tokugawa army as they advanced from the south to this area of the defences when the castle fell in 1615.





Considerations concerning food supplies were a very crucial point when a location was about to come under siege, or when such a prospect was likely following a hostile move by an enemy into one's territory. In 1587 Höjö Ujikuni ordered the village of Kitadani in Közuke province to collect and deposit all grain from the autumn harvest in his satellite castle of Minowa. The value placed on provisions is given dramatic illustration by another order from Unkuni issued in 1568, the same year that Takeda Shingen invaded western Kantó, that no supplies were to be moved without a document bearing the seal of the Hoio. Should anything be moved without the seal, then the offender would be crucified. The threat of starvation could determine a castle's fate. After a 200-day siege in 1581, the defenders of Tottori were almost reduced to cannibalism

A reliable water supply was also very important during a siege. In the Taiheiki, concerning the siege of Akasaka in 1331, we read:

"Then the 282 warriors in the castle came out to surrender, because they knew they would die on the morrow, for they could not support their thirst for water "

During the siege of Chokōii castle in 1570, a decisive moment was reached when the besiegers succeeded in cutting the aqueduct which supplied the garrison. The Zohyo Monogatari notes:

"During sieges on a vamashiro when there is no further water the throat becomes parched and death can result. Water rationing must be carried out. To a measure of one sho per person per day."

The numbers of people within a castle swelled when an attack was imminent, and could stretch the garrison's resources and provisions to their limits. When Takeda Shingen invaded the Kantō in 1569, the local people flocked to Odawara, causing severe pressure on resources. During Hidevoshi's invasion a much larger movement of population took place, and the garrisons of nearly all the Hojo satellite castles were left as skeleton staff while most troops were packed into Odawara. Hōjō Uiikuni's Hachigata castle was the sole exception. and came under attack itself. Hideyoshi's support forces under Uesugi Kagekatsu and Maeda Toshiie spread 35,000 troops round Hachigata, and after a month-long siege Ujikuni surrendered, thus providing a foretaste of what was to come at Odawara

# The siege

While the garrison of a castle were preparing for a siege, the attacker would be similarly organising his forces. Some considerations would be political ones, and could result in a bloodless victory. whereby a castle was surrendered through negotiation. This was far from uncommon, and a good example occurred during Toyotomi Hidevoshi's campaign against the Möri family on behalf of Oda Nobunaga. The first castle Hideyoshi met was



The interior of the keep of Matsumoto. built in 1597, gives a good impression of the inside of a late Sengoku castle. The construction is entirely of wood, with plastered walls across a narrow walkway from the central room. The windows are fitted with heavy wooden shutters and there are small defensive ports for arrows or quns.

Himeii, then called Himeyama, and now celebrated as one of Japan's foremost tourist attractions. It lay where two key roads met. The castellan was Kuroda Yoshitaka, whose lovalties were somewhat unsure. Through mediation he surrendered Himeii without a shot being fired. With Himeii as a base, Hidevoshi could concentrate on capturing Miki castle, also in Harima province. It was held by Bessho Nagaharu. whom Hidevoshi wished to spare so that he might join the Toyotomi side as well. Hideyoshi wrote:

"I am dispatching Hiratsuka to you promptly. and order you to take stock of the situation and save the life of the lord of Miki. If you manage to isolate it completely, you can take Miki by cutting off supplies of food and water, for there have been

many such occasions when the besieged have pleaded for their lives. After you have finished with Miki. please do not neglect to capture Gochaku and Shigata, You can take them either by starvation or by killing... Be assured that the hostage in Gochaku must be received from Itami (castle). As far as (the lord of) Itami (Araki Murashige) is concerned. it seems to me he will be defeated in three or five days because you have filled the most in so quickly. My fear of the hostage in Gochaku dying in that castle has made me suggest to you that we get him back..." Not all the elements

Hidevoshi's carefully considered plans worked. He won Miki castle, but the castellan Bessho Nagaharu preferred to commit suicide rather than submit personally, and Araki Murashige, lord of Itami, managed to escape and rejoined the Mori.

When the matter came to an assault, an attack on a defended castle provided a samural with opportunities for individual glory every bit as

dramatic as a field battle. In the memoirs of Yamada Shoei we read of the bravery of a certain Shibuya Shigekado, who took part in the assault on the fortress of Mine, near the Sendai river in southern Kyūshū. The castle was held by the Shimazu family, and the Shibuva attacked it on 24 July 1372:

\*Shipekado descended into the most and climbing upon the bank, attacked the fortress. when his belimet was broken by a stone missile, and he sank to the bottom of the most and nemshed."

One of the skills most prized in an individual warrior was the ability to act as a shinobi, the men who practised spying and undercover warfare. later to be known as ninia. The following section is another scene from the Ou Fikei Gunki account of



The interior of the castle of Matsue (1611), showing the steen wooden staircase. Such keeps were built entirely on a wooden framework



Left: The internal supports of the keep of the castle of Matsue (1611) are provided by these huge wooden pillars bound with iron.

Opposite page, top: The gate and defensave wall of Kakegawa castle. Kakegawa is a modern reconstruction, but unlike the numerous 'concrete castles' of Janan, has been rebuilt using original materials from the highly detailed plans which the original daimyō was fortunately required to keep by law. The plastered walls have anertures for hows and auns, while the simple gateway has a heavy cross-beam and a small postern built into the studded main gate. The projecting wooden supports are found at intervals along the walls and provided the foundation for ishi uchi tana (loose wooden platforms) in the time of steae, from which aunners could operate on a higher level.

Opposite page, bottom: The defence of a castle with cannon and arauebus fire is shown in this dramatic print. From the protection of loopholes, tower windows and the firmly closed gate, the defenders keep up a steady stream of fire against Toyotomi Hidevoshi's army across the moat. The golden gourd standard indicates the presence of Hidevoshi himself in the siege lines, and his paulownia mon may be recoanised on the wooden shields. To the left. Kotō Kivomasa may be found. Here is also a massive war drum, horagai (conch shell trumpet) and a bell for signalling. The fiercest fire is directed in a sween across the open bridge.

the defence of the castle of Hataya, and shows the importance of psychological warfare:

"Now there was within Hataya Castle a person with renowned shinobi skills, and that night he entered secretly into the enemy camp, and took the sashimono from Naoe Kanetsugu's guard within Kurogane Sonza'emonnojô's camp, and planted it on a high point above the front gate of the castle. When dawn hooke men from the

attacking force saw it and said, 'This is mortifying. Not only has this tiny castle not fallen, but we have been so negligent that a flag has been stolen!"

In 1582 Höjö Ujikuni ordered Yoshida Shinzaemon, the commander of Kotsukue castle, to prepare for both a day and a night attack, because he had received reports that 'infiltrators' had entered his domains, and that they were particularly skilled in attacking castles by moonlight.







Left: Fascinating details of garrison life are shown in this illustration from the Hojo Godaiki. Two samurai play 90, while others enjoy hackgammon. Swords are sharpened and nolished and in the background suits of armour and weapons stand in readiness. Two warriors sharnen arrowheads on a stone. and check the arrow shafts for straightness. Note how the sharpening stones are kept on the outside wooden walkway rather than on the internal tatami mats. The suits of armour stand on armour boxes.

Below: The defence of a castle by means of arquebuses in shown here in a detail from the Ehon Taikôki. There is one gunner per aperture, to provide a constant five. The arquebusiers stand on two stone steps leading up to the



#### THE SAMURAL BATTLEFIELD

#### Control on the battlefield

Once the samurai army drew near to the enemy castle, camp or field formation, the officers would begin the transformation of the army on the march into battle order. This was a process to which many hours of training would have been devoted. The commander, seated wherever possible in a position where he would have the best overall view of the battlefield, would give his orders to his subordinate generals, who would transmit them down through the chain of command. Traditionally, the commander-in-chief would sit in some state upon a folding camp stool within a semi-enclosed space provided by the maku, the large curtains bearing his mon which would be erected on site. The makit was such a feature of samural life that the shogunate established by Minamoto Yoritomo was known as the bakufu, the 'government from within the maku'. Tokugawa levasu, however, is on record as having commented that battles were not won by sitting on a camp stool giving orders, baton in hand, and that no commander would ever conquer by gazing at men's backs. This may have been somewhat idealistic thinking on the part of this most successful of all samurai commanders, because he continued his comments by adding that the best thing in a battle was to charge with the greatest possible vigour, It may be noted, however, that this was not a course of action he personally operated at any time after his defeat at Mikata ga Hara.

One particular challenge that a general of the Sengoku Period faced was the fact that many

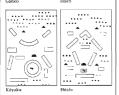
armies consisted of the troops of allies. Each army was further subdivided into weapon groups, and coordinated through its own hand of messengers. Careful strategic planning and the co-operation between allied armies, facilitated by a skilled battlefield communication system. enabled the successful commander to control synchronised movement by units who were physically separated, so that each man knew what his role was in the current endeavour

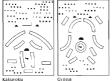
The transformation from an army on the march to an army in battle lines was facilitated by the existence of certain recommended battle formations, most of which were



A general's honjin or headquarters unit, as depicted in a print by Sadahide within the battle formation known as ayorin. The general is identified by the presence of his a uma firushi (great standard) and by other flags. A bodyquard of spearmen attend him to the front. The print is a stylised example, and no particular daimyo or battle is indicated.

# Recommended Battle Formations Gankó Höer





Kev:

Blocks - Samurai: Black discs - Arauebuses: Triangles - Archers: Squares - Spears: Large triangles - Flags; Semi circles - Drum, aona and conch.

based on old Chinese models. All had some features in common, such as the general positioned to the rear centre, surrounded by his body guard; the cavalry units ready to charge; a vanguard of brave samurai and ashigaru missile troops protected by ashigaru spearmen; and a sizeable flank and rear contingent. The baggage train would be guarded to the rear. Different units would communicate with one another through the highly mobile mounted messengers. Other messengers, some of whom would be on foot. would operate between allied contingents at different positions on the field. Careful training allowed an army to adopt a new formation quickly when circumstances changed.

#### The samurai on the hattlefield

The previous discussion of army organisation may have tended to give the impression that on the battlefields of Sengoku Japan the samurai had now become redundant, having been replaced by large bodies of lower-class troops. This is far from being the case. The most important role of the samurar was to provide mounted troops, so that the cavalry of a Sengoku army would be exclusively samurai. But whereas the role as a cavalryman was an ancient one, the most important difference between the samurai of the Gempet Wars and the Sengoku samurai was apparent in the weaponry of

Six recommended hattle formations. Ganko: this is a flexible attack formation which by a few prearranged moves can be converted into the defensive onryö. In that formation (not illustrated here) the units of samurai are pulled in at an angle around the centre. Höen: this keyhole shape was regarded as the best defence against the höshi as it could absorb an attack. Kövaku: this is a very flexible arrangement providing good defence, with a split vanguard capable of absorbing an enemy's initial attack long enough for the overall tactics to become apparent. Hoshi: one of the strongest attack formations of all, as the name 'arrowhead' implies. Kakuvoku: a strona vet flexible defensive arrangement that can quickly he converted into a höshi. Györin: an attack formation for an army that is outnumbered by the enemy. It is in effect a 'hlunted arrowhead'.

The charge of the li and Tokuaawa samurai during the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, as shown on a painted screen in the Watanahe Museum Tottori

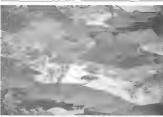


the samurai himself. The exclusive use of the bow by mounted samural had laid the cavalryman open to attack from bands of foot-soldiers, so in time the how was abandoned for the long, straight spear, which enabled the samurai to defend himself, and also take the fight to the enemy in a way that the bow had not allowed. The more wealthy samurai was still attended by a group of followers who could hand to him bow or spear as he chose, but chronicles of the time and contemporary illustrations clearly show that the spear had become the preferred weapon on the battlefield.

Most samurai cavalrymen wore the rounded style of armour called the do-many instead of the older box-like voroi, to which the addition of a solid breastplate was practically the only major change in design during the whole of the Sengoku Period. The type of spear the samurai carried was called a mochi-vari (held snear). The shaft lengths varied between 3.2 and 4 metres, and blade lengths varied considerably between about 10 cm and 1.5 m. Techniques were developed to enable the samurai to use this weapon in any situation; from a horse, in a charge on foot, or defending castle walls. Some

This detail from the Ehon Fovotomi Kunköki shows a spearman in action against a swordsman. The spearman has made the fatal error of allowing the swordsman to catch hold of his spear shaft. Even though the swordsman is now reduced to wielding his weapon with one hand. the spearman has lost the advantage of the extra length provided by his snoar





Spear fighting by samurai along the main street of a village. The length of the spears and the sashimono confirm the warriors' samurai status. From a painted screen denicting the battle of Sekigahara in the Watanahe Museum, Tottori.

samurai sword, a European knight's sword was dull and clumsy. A downward stroke from a crusader's blade might be expected to stun an opponent sufficiently to allow the knight to finish him

of the horseman carried it along. By comparison with the

off with a straight thrust. A samurai sword would do far more damage on the initial contact.

Much fighting was, of course, done on foot, Some samurai possessed horses but chose to fight on foot, or were directed along those lines by the general. Other samurai of more modest income simply did not possess the means to own a horse. but in most cases the decision to fight dismounted would be based on tactical considerations. Here again the principal weapon for the samurai was the spear. When facing an opponent armed with a sword, the major advantage possessed by the spearman was one of length, enabling him to thrust at the swordsman while the latter was still too far away to do any damage. From the swordsman's point of view, his key technique would be to knock the spear thrust to one side, giving himself the opportunity to move rapidly forward and deliver a cut. To counter this, a samurai spearman would practise techniques whereby the blade of his weapon would always remain close to his opponent. If the swordsman attempted to strike the spear shaft either to deflect it or cut through it, the spearman would very quickly pull the spear back so that all the swordsman would meet would be empty air. The spearman would then either thrust his blade forward, or withdraw his body slightly, leaving his sharp blade once again pointing towards the swordsman's throat, the positions being exactly as they had been before. The above

illustrations suggest that the spears were used as lances from the saddle, others that they were more used for slashing strokes while standing up in the stirrups. The preferred option in attacking another mounted samurat with one's spear was to have the opponent on one's left. The spear would be held with the right hand across the body, while the left hand controlled the horse. There was also one very unorthodox way of wielding a spear from the saddle which was designed to overcome the length deficiency between the horseman's spear and the long pikes of the ashigaru. This was for the samurai to hold the spear towards the butt of the shaft and whirl it round his head! Another way of attacking foot soldiers was to press one's feet firmly in the heavy iron abumi (stirrups), then swing the leg out and hit the opponent in the face! The alternative to fighting with a snear from

the saddle was to use a sword, and in this case it would be to his advantage to have his enemy to his right, to allow greater freedom of movement with the sword arm. The use of the sword from the saddle meant, of course, that the normally two-handed katana had to be used in one hand. Any disadvantage in the strength of the swing of the blade, however, was overcome by the samurai's position above a foot soldier, and the momentum of his horse. The curved blade of the katana, with its super-hard and very sharp cutting edge, would cut into a small area of the opponent, which would naturally be opened up as the forward movement points are expressed in a slightly different way in the Heihō Okugisho, a valuable document written by a samurai with battle experience:

"Although there are many different weapons, the spear is one of the most effective and powerful. To be proficient in the use of the spear is to be able to understand and use the different spears effectively - such as knowing the spear's length, weight, and the different spear heads, When fighting an enemy with a different weapon. make sure that there is plenty of room to be able to use the weapon effectively. Be able to read the changing situation of a fight so that you can use the spear effectively. When your enemy uses a long sword or tach: to attack, bring your spear up blocking his attack, then lower your hand and stab him. When your enemy uses a long sword and attempts to knock your spear to one side, lower the tip of your spear and when he withdraws, stab him. When your enemy, using a spear, attempts to control your spear with the head of his spear, pull your spear back and stab him."

When two swordsmen met, the outcome was likely to be settled in favour of the one who had the greatest skills in kenjutsu, the techniques of swordfighting. Hours of individual practice were given to the wielding of the bokuto, the heavy wooden practice sword, which mimicked the weight of a real weapon and left the practitioners brused but uncut. The lighter bamboo shinai was introduced much later. The other necessary, and hazardous, sword practice method involved tsumeru techniques, whereby real blades were used, and the blow pulled before making contact. The famous Miyamoto Musashi was so proficient at tsumeru that he was said to be able to sever a rice grain placed on an opponent's forehead without the blade cutting the man's skin. The Heihō Okugisho has much to say about sword technique. For example, the following extract shows how the sword is used for defence as well as offence:

\*From this position, if your enemy attacks, either hit his sword sideways and strike, or, bring your grip up and block and then strike, or step in with your right and cut your enemy. If your enemy lift your relates your lower body, step backwards and cut this hand. If your enemy goes to a chudrague, hit his sword sideways, getting it out of your way, then attack him."

No daimyō was better skilled than Takeda Shingen at the traditional use of samurai on a battlefield, particularly in their role as mounted troops. His victory at Mikata ga Hara in 1572 owed a great deal to the mobile and hard-hitting power of the devastating Takeda cavalry charge. The experience of the battle of Nagashino in 1575 was to give a different impression, because here the Takeda cavalry were broken by the firepower of the lowly ashigaru. It is important, however, to realise that the ashigaru were only part of the story, because although the ashigaru broke the Takeda charge, it took other samural to destroy them. After the initial volley firing had finished, there were still several hours of bitter fighting to go before the day was settled, and here samural with their spears and swords were very fully involved in a way that illustrates the above points. Once the Takeda cavalry reached the Oda lines, the fight became one of hand-to-hand combat. The gaps left in the defensive fence allowed the Oda army to create a 'killing ground' where hand weapons, rather than missile weapons, were all-important.

Traditional samuras combat techniques on horseback or on foot were most clearly seen at Nagashino on the right wing of Nobunaga's army. which was not protected by a fence. Facing Tokugawa Jevasu's general Okubo Tadayo was the veteran Yamagata Masakage, aged 60. Unbindered by fences, and with a wider ground over which to operate than their comrades along the line, the Yamagata vanguard, with Masakage at their head, took casualties from the bullets, and crashed into the Ökubo body of troops. Here a fierce hand-tohand fight developed in the first mêléc of the day. so we may envisage the Okubo ranks parting to allow the horsemen in. From this moment on, the matchlock fire would have been sporadic and individual, as this area of the hattlefield became one huge backing mass of men and horses. Yamagata Masakage was skilled in single combat, and had the assistance of three samurai who supported him. He must have kent on his horse, because we then read of him breaking free from the mêlée. and leading his men in a charge against the unit of Honda Tadakatsu. He was met with a hail of bullets and finally shot from off his horse's back. As he fell, an unknown samurai ran up and cut off his head, which was taken back in triumph.

The dominance of the samurai during this second phase of activity at Nagashino is further illustrated by contemporary records which show that in spite of the chaos wrought by the gunners. the samurai, with centuries of military tradition behind them, still tried to seek out a worthy opponent for single combat. They were not always successful in such identification. In one isolated incident Honda Shigetsugu of the Tokugawa force launched a single-handed attack on seven or eight enemy horsemen and killed two, in snite of heine wounded in seven places himself. Elsewhere, a retainer of Torii Mototada called Nagata Hatsumi-no-suke took the head of an anonymous samurai whose sashimono flag bore the characters 'ni gatsu' (February). After the hattle he discovered that he had taken the head of Mochizuki Nobumasa. Takeda Katsuvori's cousin, who commanded 60 horsemen

Most individual combats at Nagashino took place during the pursuit, the time when mounted samurai spearmen would be at their most deadly. The attendants attempted to protect their lords while the ashigaru spearmen and gunners lashed out at any they could see who were identified as enemy, and as the Takeda faltered the Oda and Tokugawa samurai mounted up and rode out from the palisade. The first prominent person to be caught was the commander of the vanguard of the centre squadron: the veteran Naito Masatovo, who was accompanied by the 100 men left alive out of his initial command of 1000. He was apprehended by Honda Tadakatsu, Ösuga Yasutaka and Sakakibara Yasumasa, who had with them a number of ashigarii archers. They shot at Masatovo, hitting him many times. He fell from his horse, and, seeing him trying to lift his spear, a samurai called Asahina Yasukatsu thrust a spear at him and took his head. He was 52 years old. The most heroic death during the withdrawal was suffered by the other great veteran Baba Nobuharu. He took it upon himself to ensure Takeda Katsuyori's safety by covering his retreat. When the Oda forces caught up with his rearguard unit. Baba Nobuharu announced his name in the manner of the samurai of old, stressing that only the greatest of samurai would take his head. The challenge was answered by two samuras, who attacked him simultaneously with their spears. and soon his head was off his body.

#### THE DEATH OF A VETERAN SAMURAL

There are many accounts of veteran warriors meeting their end in battle. One such was lida Harima no kami, who was one of the commanders of the rearguard of the garrison who defended Hataya castle in 1600. The Ou Eikei Gunki account tells us:

"lida was an old warrior of more than sixty years old, and saying, 'Listen, I have dressed myself up today and I shall see the colour of the enemy's flags', he removed his beimet and gave it to a chugen to hold. He stretched his legs in his stirrups and, shading his eyes with his hand, raised himself up, but from somewhere there came a bullet which struck him on the forehead. The bullet made him fall headlong from his horse. His followers were devastated and tried to hold him to make him stand. but he had already died and was now lifeless." (Sengoku Shirvō Sōshō 2nd series, Vols 3-4)

Thus even the most 'modern' of Japanese battles at the time, Nagashino, saw its full share of individual samurai heroics with edged weapons, any of which are comparable to the glorious pages of the Heike Monogatari. Yet all acknowledged the need for co-operation between arms, particularly from the lowly ashigaru, and it is to the battlefield role of these men that we now turn

# The arquebus on the battlefield

By the end of the sixteenth century tactical considerations meant that the age-old honour of firms the first shot was almost invariably won by a lowly, and probably anonymous, ashigaru. The accepted tactical practice was for the first exchange of fire to be between the arquebus troops, firing at a maximum range of about 100 metres. The firing would be controlled by the ashigaru kashira ordering the gunners through their ko gashira, under the overall direction of the ashigaru taishō. As he was probably in the most forward position of the samurai commanders, he would be able to judge when the firing had dison. entated the enemy sufficiently for a charge to be ordered. At this point the ashigaru spearmen would advance, and the samurai would attack on foot or from horseback. While this was going on, the ashigaru missile troops would reorganise themselves under the protection of other ashigaru spearmen.

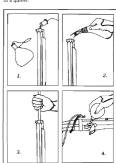
The effects of the arquebus fire varied enormously. In some cases, like the battle of Tennôii in 1615, with which the siege of Osaka concluded, troops were forced into precipitate action by arquebus fire. In the case noted above, that of the Takeda at Nagashino mounted samurai were almost broken by it, but Oda Nobunaga's use of three ranks of rapid volley firing at Nagashino does not seem to have been repeated very often. This may be because the concentration needed by his gunners was facilitated by the defence works. In most cases, two ranks of fire seems to have been the maximum possible. Any gap in the rhythm was made up by the archers, and several contemporary illustrations show a smaller number of archers standing beside the arquebusiers, while the spearmen stand ready to form a defensive hedge.

A major source for understanding the role of ashigaru on the battlefield is Zôhyō Monogatari, where valuable accounts of ashigaru warfare are largely arranged according to weapon group. Beginning with the arquebus, we see the great responsibility placed upon the shoulders of the ke gashira:

"While the enemy are still at a distance the ko gashira distributes the bullets, which are put into the bullet pouch worn at the side, so that when they come near the bullets may be quickly retrieved. Subsequently, when they begin to appear ahead, the fuse will be inserted. This order will be given when they are about 1 cho away. If the fuse is dropped in quickly or fitted badly the fire will not continue and it may go out. As there is always the possibility of them going out keep many spare fuses that may be exchanged for them. The full bullet pouch may be emptied in a flash. and the sooner they are replenished the better, or the firing would be broken off. This rule is to be kept. First, the leather hag in which the arquebus is carried is put to one side. Secondly two or even three ramrods are taken from the bag and thrust into the belt on the right side of the body."

The author continues with some useful 'Health and Safety' (1) advice for the gunners:

"When ramming do it up and down as far as the brim of the imgasa. If it is done out to one side there is a danger to the eyes of one's comrades, because other people's ramrods may be jammed into eyes, so it is best to lift it straight up and down. It is good to carry the ramrods like arrows in a quiver."



in loading and firing an arquebus: 1. A measured charge of powder is poured into the barrel using the stopper of the powder flask for quantity: 2. A bullet is inserted from the bullet pouch: 3. The bullet and powder are rammed home

The stages involved



using the ramrod. 4. Fine priming powder is inserted into the touch-hole and the brass cover is closed. 5. Taking aim, the trigger is pulled, lowering the serpentine and its glowing match on to the opened pan.

There follows practical advice about bullets getting stuck, broken ramrods and troublesome gunpowder:

"When five or six arquebus bullets have been fired there will be scorching inside the barrel and there may be difficulty with bullets getting stuck or with loading So make a note of the bullets' weight and keep them separate when you put them in the bullet box, and you can quickly identify the bullets made to a particular weight, which cannot be used if the barrel has become too narrow. Use a ramrod that is made from oak, but even these will sometimes break. Without a ramrod the gunpowder cannot be forced down, so in most cases one man will have two or three, but the ko gashira carries a case in which a particularly sturdy ramrod is kept, and when there is difficulty getting the bullets in one can use it. Small bullets must be bitten between the back teeth. In the place where the bullet pouch hangs from the side hang the havago (powder flask). The gunpowder may solidify, so the powder flask must be struck on the bottom, or else the bullets may only fly less than 5 ken. You must shake the powder flask when

The author then discusses the making of prepared cartridges, an innovation that speeded up the loading process:

putting gunpowder in to ram down."

"Place on a sheet of paper the powder from the flask, pack the powder in leaving a space. Then glue the paper leaving an opening and place the bullet in this paper garment. This paper may be fired when split in two or three places, so the bullets are thus in a tube up to two or three sun long. These may be kept in the pouch on the side. When loaded they can go up to 45 ken before falling to earth and will not be wasted."

A different authority, the Bumon Taihei Fuböki, makes the following interesting recommendation for the ko gashira to keep some cartridges back for emergency:

"Concerning tetsu no gyoyaku (the final cartridges), the meaning is that among the cartridges prepared by the gunners, two or three rounds should be kept back in reserve. As a consequence of this, when the enemy have surrounded you, if all the cartridges have been fired and discarded it can be a dangerous situation, as you will be carrying a uscless arquebus, and will be much inferior by comparison. Therefore it is a rule. At the time of the siege of Kôrai, Ôtomo of Higo, when the ashigaru attacked, in that time he did not realise that the gap was too large. One or two hundred arquebuses were fired and discarded. They immediately came within bowshot but did not run out of shots, because in that family was a person called Harada Ivo, and by means of the extra cartridges they held the enemy."

The Zöhvö Monogatarı account continues with advice on target priorities:

"As for the enemy, after beginning with the horses it is good to attack the riders. On these occasions fire at those riding the horses so that they fall off and also at the horses. It will disturb many of the enemy."

The Zöhvö Monogatari recognises that once the enemy reach one's lines the arquebus is useless, so he includes advice on when and how to engage in hand-to-hand fighting under the protection of the

"If the enemy come close, because you will be replaced by men with spears, divide up to right and left. Remove the ramrod, sheathe the arquebus in the arquebus bag, and cross swords with them. Aim at the helmet, but if the loan swords have dull blades and are likely to snap, aim at the enemy's hands and legs and you can cut at them. If the enemy are a distance away you can swab out the barrel, which is equivalent to cleaning it. At such time it is wise not to put powder and ball into the arquebus for about half a minute. Even though the enemy are out of sight don't carry the arquebus on your shoulder '

The Zöhvö Managatari does not provide historical illustrations of its recommendations but a vivid account of the effect of arquebus fire occurs in the Kirin Gunkt

"There was a dreadful noise in the castle as over 100 shooters attacked, accompanied by about 60 horsemen. The arquebuses of the ashigaru were continually replaced and their firing produced 600 or 700 dead or wounded "

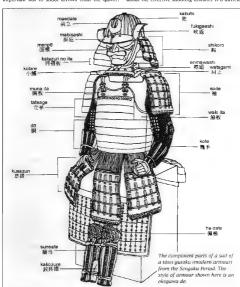
# Archers and spearmen on the battlefield

Ashigaru archers were used for skirmishing and also in the firing line, where they filled in the gans between arquebus firing. They were also used for highly skilled precision shooting, lust as in the

case of the arquebuses, the yumi ko gashira for archery takes charge:

"When the enemy are still a distance away it is important not to shoot arrows from the quiver.

The ko gashira who is in command will take charge of the matter, and will order the shooting of arrows when the enemy are closer. The decision about the effective shooting distance is a difficult



one to make, Usually the intention is to shoot once. Twice is only to be done with caution. One once. Twice is only to be done with caution of members of the deposition of the archery creeking content of the archery corps, stand one archer in the space between two matchlock men, to over the arquee between the whom the dockmen fring, thus of the document of the document

Like the arquebusiers, the archers have to be prepared for hand-to-hand fighting:

"When the arrows in the quiver are running low, do not use up the last arrow, but make a line to permit shooting to continue, and engage in hand-to-hand lighting. When forced to withdraw defend from a spear's length away, and then shoot into the space. This should be completely successful. If you are forced to shoot while looking up at their faces you cannot ward off an enemy. These are the secrets of Dow fighting."

The Zohyo Monogatari continues its account by noting the existence of a recently introduced weapon which improved the hand-to-hand techniques of archers. Yumi yari were bows with a spear blade fixed on them. They are not mentioned in the war chronicles, having originated in the early fed Period.

"From the time when wars were futile bows have become spears as yumi yari, which can be thrust into the gaps in the facemask and the armour skirts. After this pull out the long and short swords and attack and cut at arms and lees."

This rough sketch is an attempt by the author to show the use of a rank of spearmen against cavalry following the recommendations 20hyô Monogatari. The ashigaru spearmen are filmed up with weapons at the ready and scabburds security located. They brace themselves in a breeling brace themselves and the property of the prope

The bowstring must be folded up so that it is not cut through when this is done."

The most numerous among the weapon groups were the spearmen ashigaru, who were well drilled. Their enormous nagae-vari pikes had the potential to cause as much trouble for friend as foe if not used correctly, and some of the most vivid lines in the Zohyo Monogatari concern spear fighting. As noted earlier, the length of the nagae vari, and the need for the ashigaru spearmen to keep the blades even, implies the existence of 'pike drill', even though the traditional samurai spirit clearly lies behind the more active and offensive nature of a Japanese spear unit than might be expected from comparisons with a European schiltron. Using the Zöhvo Monogatari and other accounts, it is possible to reconstruct what Japanese spear unit fighting may have consisted of. Beginning with the Zöhvö Monogatari account:

"The matchlock and bow rounds having finished, the spears are now under orders. Before the fighting starts place the sheaths inside the top of the armour breastplate (muna-ita). Long scabbard-like spear sheaths must be thrust into the helt at the side."

An interesting contrast is then made between ashigaru spear techniques and samurai spear fighting:

"Unlike samural spearmen, where spears are thought of as only for single combat, here many are of one mind, with spear points moving together, keeping a rhythm. When one or two meel it is fine to fight individually, but when spears are used en masse there must be co-ordination and timing, with no exception. As for spear techniques, it is believed



to be a good thing to be able to knock down an enemy sashimono (literally a flag, but indicating the horseman himself). When the enemy are mounted a quick thrust at the horse's belly will make it buck and the man will fall off. Line up in one rank three shaku apart, not thrusting yet, but at the ready in a large row to hit the enemy. When facing an attack by horsemen line up in one rank kneeling, lie the spear down and wait. When contact is imminent lift up the spearhead into the area of the horse's breast. When the point pierces the skin hold on to it! Whether you are cutting at men and horses, it may be that you will feel you are being forced to pull out the spear. and it is a general rule to stand fast to the bitter end and not throw into disorder the collaborative actions. After you have driven the enemy back, to pursue for about 1 chō will be sufficient."

The section concludes with advice on how far to stick the spear into an enemy. The limit must be the depth of the shaft up to the mekugi, the pin that goes through the shaft to secure the tang of the blade:

"Usually thrust into a body up to the mekugi so that you can still withdraw it. The mekugi has a metal clasp around it. The successful employment of many spears requires skill and perseverance. and constant readiness."

The war chronicles of the Sengoku Period have several passages relating to spear fighting by ashigaru. In the Yoshihika Monogatari, dealing with the attack of Shirō Torijūrō, there is the implication that a certain individuality of action was allowed:

"Yoshihika-ko too, with his horsemen drew near. From within the thirty long-shafted spearmen was one man who had the strength of an animal. He took his long bodied spear...'

The best illustration of controlled spear work occurs in the Ou Eiker Gunki, in the section on the attack on Yuzawa castle. Note how both a frontal and a flank attack are delivered simultaneously:

"Ivo Choza'emonnoió Sadahira and Ichikuri Heibu Shorin with 300 men, plus the forces under Yoshida Magoichi and Nishino Shūri Ryöshun and Magosaburo of the same family with 500 men, arranged their spear blades in an even line and went to fight against the Yuzawa side. From the flank at the same time eighteen nagae-vari men acquired a name for themselves by advancing in one rank holding spears and naginata. They cut into all sides of the dense crowd as they surrounded the unfortunates... "

- It is therefore possible to summarise the sequence of ashigaru spear fighting as follows:
  - 1. Form ranks one man (about 1 metre) apart.
  - 2. Unsheathe your weapon, retaining the scabbard.
  - 3. Kneel to await the cavalry, with the spear laid flat
  - 4. On the command, rise, taking hold of the spear.
  - 5. Order ranks to produce even blades. 6. Guide with the left hand, thrust with the
  - right. 7. Thrust to a limited depth, and maintain
  - pressure. 8. Pursue as directed.

Historical accounts, however, prevent us from making too close an analogy with European pikemen. Japanese spear fighting was clearly in a class of its own, and even the long spears were wielded in hattle with a freedom that discounts too rigid an idea of a hedge of pikes. One book illustration showing a mock battle with spears depicts the ashigaru taking spear work on the run. They were also trained to move from a guard position with the spear held nearly vertical to parry and block a spear thrust with their shafts, and then reply with thrusts of their own. The important point appears to be one of keeping the spear blades at an even distance, even if they are being wielded with a greater independence than a European hedge of pikes would ever have allowed.

The above accounts show how the successful general on the battlefield achieved lovalty and efficiency at all levels of those under his command. Every samurai and every ashigaru had his place. his function and his value. The Zöhvö Monoagtari is eloquent testimony to this, but notes throughout that discipline is essential when dealing with lower-class warriors, and reserves its strongest language for ashigaru who are careless with equipment:

"It is the rule that on the battlefield no equipment must be abandoned. Small spear scabbards must be placed within the muna ita of the armour. Long scabbards must be kept at one's side, Ramrods should be placed at the waist like a quiver and not

# THE STANDARD BEARER IN BATTLE

Some of the most exciting passages in the chroncitles of the Sengolus Period are concerned with the bravery of the asbigaru whose job it was to carry flags or other insignia. As the following examples will show, loyal service in the particularly dangerous role of standard bearer was likely to ensure promotion to samurat. Only the bravest asbigaru were chosen for these roles, and many did not survive. In the Banshō Suyo Gunki we read:

"The swift current separated those who had the flags and the standard of Ukita ... then the flag carrier too was killed by a galloping horse as he walked along, the flag standard fell to the ground many times and finally had to be aban-

doned."

In the record of the Matsuura clan's involve

in the record of the Massuara can's involvement in the second invasion of Korea by the Japanese in 1597, the invading troops were faced with the well-defended fortress of Namwön. Note how the flag bearers of Matsuura Shigenobu are the first to enter the castle:

"It was the idea of the Flag Commissioner Nishi Kiyo emon that he would order the standard bearer Urskawa Kon'emon and the ko gashira Doi Ya'emon to co-operate in trying to be the first to force their way across the walls against the castle garrison, carrying Shigenobu's banners with them to the enemy. They captured some enemy flags and held the castle garrison at boy. All the soldlers saw them do this and achieve Kiyo'emon's aim. It was Shigenobu who tried to be the first to enter the castle garrison, and both the vanguard and rearguard advanced. The soldiers followed blindly, and whereas Nishi

Kiyo'emon was the first to enter, Kiyomasa's vanguard of lida Tobei, Morimoto Gidayu, Shobayashi Shunjin, and Tachibana's retainer Sandayu of the same name, carried on and entered while all the army advanced step by step. Immediately the castle fell."

As the uma jurushi (standard) indicated the whereabouts of the general, it always became a focus for the flercest fighting. Much bitter combat is described in the Momil Nikki, particularly in the chapter on the battle of Awataguchi, where the prize is a standard:

The general San'shirbi was jammed tight and attacked. Over 700 of his followers were crowded tagether, Willie some recovered and went back others were killed. The flag commissioner Tobe Shiro was cornered by the kashira Eta Heiko and the retainer Yata Kotairio and was killed in the crowd, and Vata Cenji also slew the standard-bearer. To a loud yell from those present he stantched away Nobuo's standard, which was in the form of a golden pestle.

Yata Genji, therefore, earns his commendation by killing a standard-bearer, but strenuous efforts to keep a flag could also open the way to a successful career. In the Komatsu Gunkt.

"A certain Deguchi, a retainer of Eguchi's, held Motokura Nagahide's hata jirushi (streamer-like flag), and while he had it performed feats against the rebels on many occasions... Eguchi recommended promotion for this and gave him a 200

mended promotion for this and gave him a 200 koku fief..."

There are several other examples of promotion to samurai. In the Kivomasa-ki, concerning

the keeper of a castle in the Iki daimyō territory:

"As the defeated army flooded out and it was realised that they were scattering in all direc-

mislaid. It is also the rule that horses must not be allowed to wander freely. This is strictly forbidden."

Nevertheless, the whole tone of the Zohyo Monogatar is a positive one, recognising, as it does, that daimyō ignored ashigaru at their perl, and needed to devote resources to their welfare, training and support. Their specialised units and regent person of the person o

this fact while there were still battles to fight. Only with ashigaru support would samurai armies ever triumph.

#### Naval warfare

Apart from castles, the other important area of military activity was scaborne fighting. Although the Japanese made themselves notorious as pirates along the coasts of Korea and China from the twelfth contury onward. Japan never built shins tions, the men accompanying Kiyomasa were Shobayashi Shunjin, Morimoto Gidayu, Kashihara Tōgorō, ikeda Jinshirō, Wada Takemaru, the bow-carrier Mizutani Yasunojō, the standard-bearer Yokichi, and the sandal-bearers Itsubo, Ovoshi, Hike and Oe Inshich."

Thus a lower-ranking person who has no summare was responsible for holding Katō kiyomasa's great standard. This was the one that bore the motto of the Nichtern sect of Buddhism to which Katō Kiyomasa belonged, "Namu Myòho Renge Kyō' (Talit ot the Lotus of the Divine Law'). Because of his conduct at this buttle, the standard-becare Tokichi was promoted to the status of samura, and in the Chromoto-kib was the second secrets of the Kommoto-kib was the second secrets of the Chromoto-kib was the second secrets of the Summoto-kib was the second secrets of the Montana-kib was the second secrets of the Montana-kib was the second secrets of the Montana-kib was the M

"(at the time of the above battle)... present with Kiyomasa. Kashihara Tōgorō, Katō Hirzaz-'emon are recorded, a certain Wada Takemaru was among them. Both were youths and were pages at that time... As for the standard-bearer Yokichi at the time he received from Shobayashi Yojemon a fiel of 300 koku."

Note also the honourable mention of the young pages who were in the thick of the fighting. The Aizu Jin Monogatari has snother splendid account of how the bravery of a standard-hearer could inspire an army.

"A person called Okitsu Hikosaburō, a retainer of the Hamada family, carried the lord's standard and fixed it on to a willow tree at the gate. The allies following in his footsteps saw this and took the other Hamada banners into the castle. Some were shot dead but all tried to outdo each other as they attacked."

that were effective as war vessels. This is probably because their plans were to land on the foreign coasts and carry out inland raids on nearby towns either directly or along rivers. The Sengoks dainying whose territories involved coastal waters or navigable rivers benefited from the provision of their own personal navies. The Takeda maintained a small fleet on the landlocked lade Suwa, while the H0/0 patrolled the sea near Odawara. The most developed fleet was sowned by the Mon, who

controlled the Inland Sea under their admiral Murakami Yoshimichi, an expirate. They were able Murakami Yoshimichi, an expirate. They were able advantage of the numerous bays, Inlets and a distance of those of the through these withough these withough these withough these withough the sea of the standard of the standard through the sea of the standard through the sea of the standard through the sea of the standard through through through the standard through the standard through the stan

The provinces of Ise and Shima, on the east coast of the Kil peninsula, provided the seagoing families of Mukai and Kuki, and Kil province Itself had the Atake family. It is probably from the family name Atake that the expression to denote the most common type of warship, "adake-bune", is derived. Kilk Yoshitaka was lord of the castle of Toba, where there was a plentiful supply of fine timber for shipbuilding from the dense forests of Kil, and good natural harbours. A commission from Oda Nobusaa is recorded thus:

"On the 20th day of the 6th month of 1572 Nobunaga went to Sawayama on Lake Bina and ordered timber to be cut in the hills of Tagayamada, and brought down the Serigawa to the oto of the hills at Sawayama. He then got together all the woodcutters, carpenters and smiths of the province, and appointed his chief carpenter Okade Mata\*emon to superinted the building of a ship."

Three types of ship were commonly used by such warlords in their navies. Largest were the adake-bune type. These were the flagships of the Seneoku navies, and in appearance were just a large box with a heavy prow. From bow to stern these ships resembled a floating vagura, or wooden castle, the whole surface, called the tate ita, being covered with planking 6-10 cm thick. Along the four sides, loopholes were cut for guns and bows, leaving no dead space that was not covered by defensive fire. Part of the tate ita was hinged, allowing it to be let down to form a bridge across which an enemy vessel could be boarded. These slow, but formidable, craft were manned by 80 oarsmen, and carried 60 samurai, with artillery consisting of three cannon and 30 arquebuses.

Second in size, and most numerous, were the seki-bune. They were recognisable by their long

pointed bows, and corresponded to the adake-bune on several points. Weight was saved by making them narrower, and replacing the heavy planking of the tate ita by hamboo. They were crewed by 40 oarsmen, and carried 30 samurai armed with one cannon and 20 arquebuses. The seki-bune formed the backbone of any feudal navy.

The smallest type of boat was the kobaya. There was no vagura-type superstructure, just open decking with a short tate its called a hangaki. around which was built an open framework across which thick padded cloths could be hung as a protection against arrows. They had a crew of twenty oarsmen and carried ten samural, of whom eight had arquebuses. They were mainly used for scouting, reconnaissance and communications.

A fleet of the Sengoku Period was usually arranged in five squadrons, with the commander's ship in the centre of the middle squadron. Two squadrons held the flanks in advance of the centre squadron, while the final squadron brought up the rear. The fastest and lightest ships were on the extremities of each squadron, and advanced or retired quickly as needed. Alternatively, a smaller fleet would have a core of, say, three adake-bune, surrounded by a screen of sekibune, with an outer screen of kobaya. Advance or retreat were signalled by drums, and dispersion or rally by flags. Each of the five divisions was indicated by a different coloured flag green, vellow, white, red or black, and individual boats had a number or character painted on the flag. The flags were rigid nobori (vertical) flags. At night hanging lanterns would replace the flags for

communication purposes. One authority recommends that for fighting in a boat, the samurai should wear only a do and helmet. discarding facemask, sleeves, shinguards and thigh guards.

A nolearm fitted with multiple curved snikes was used during naval warfare and also by the yoriki, the police who patrolled the streets of Edo. (Courtesy of Tansu Japanese Antiques, Batley)

The identifying sashimono would also be inconvenient, so this should be replaced with a small sode-iirushi (shoulder-flag). There was also access to numerous weird and wonderful grappling weapons fitted with hooks and barbed spikes. The kusari kagi, or grappling chain, consisted of four hooks joined together (somewhat like the traditional lananese anchor) on the end of a chain 2 metres long. The chain was attached to a ropes about 15 metres long. The whole was swung around the head and flung on to the enemy ship's deck

The main defence against the kusari kagi was the kama, which had a sickle-like blade attached to a polearm of 3 metres length. With the blade of the kama an ashigaru could hack at grappling ropes or chains from a distance. A variation on it consisted of a spear with a long blade and two cross-blades pointing down towards the shaft like two sickles. This combined the use of the vari with the kama. Another polearm had three straight spikes harhed like fish-hooks. The kumade, a polearm with a 'hear's naw' of snikes, and the kumode a similar device but bristling with spikes, provided two useful varieties of grappling iron. Both were mounted on long shafts. Finally we may note the 'sleeve entangler', usually associated with the police of the Edo Period. A mass of spikes constituted the head, and about 20 cm of the upper shaft was also covered with snikes.

The Zenryō funa ikusa no maki adds several other fascinating details about ship's equipment and fighting techniques. Ships could carry folding



Fiahtina at sea durina the battle of Yashima in 1184 is shown in this superb screen in the Watanahe Museum. Tottori. The hero Minamoto Yoshitsune. wearing a splendid voroi armour, leans over to rescue his dropped bow. supported by the monk Benkei with his naainata. Their opponents use swords, kama vari (sickle-bladed spears) and various rakes

against them.



anchors, and a buoyancy aid for horses. Called an ukigustus, it consisted of a thin hide bag filled with air. Offensive weapons included the horokubya thand gernadesid described elsewhere, thrown by hand, catapult or flung by a net attached to a 1.5 m handle. 80 hiya shafted fire arrows! would have the same purpose of setting fire to the enemy ships. The burning material on the fire arrows was made from rope that had been waterproofed by bolling it in a mixture of water, the ables of burning had been ships to be a set of the ships of burning had been ships of the ships of burning the ships of the ships of burning the ships of burning the ships of the ships of

The rivalry between the Höjlö, Takeda, Imagawa and Satomi familise in eastern Japan resulted in sea battles on several occasions. For example, when the Satomi attacked Mizaki from the sac Hojlö Uljivasu responded in kind, and twenty leading Satomi samural were killed in the fight. The most famous naval battles fought in stateenth-entury Japan were the battles of Kizagawagoth in 1576 and 1578, Guyth between the Flores of Gda Nobunaga and Moři Motomari, who supported Nebunaga's hated enemies, the likho-ikki warriors of the Ishyama Honganji in Osaka.

In 1578, Nobunaga used six very large ships as a 'one-off' in what might be termed a 'super' soase-and styles: mey whet when equipped win camon, and if one account is to be believed, etc of the account is to be believed, etc of the account is to be believed, etc of the account is to be caused by the company of the account is to be accounted by the accounter of the state of the accounter of the state of the about of the Tamon In, one of the sub temples of the Kofukuji at Naz. The priest saw the ships as the put to sea, and describes these magnificent vessels as iron-ships so arranged that guas would not penetrate them (tests no fune nar, teppo foran yoi). This is not to imply that they were built of ron, but that the outer walls of the tate its on the yagura superstructure were reinforced with ron plates as a protection against cannon and fire arrows. These weeks were also seen by two Jesuit

Insec vessels were also seen by two Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Organtino and Luis Frost, the latter comparing them to the best of contemporary Fortuguese shipping. Frois does not mention inon plates, which he would surely have done if they were real ironclads, but was very impressed by the firepower. At this second battle of Kizugawaguchi several Mort vessels were burned or sunk, but a several dors usessle were burned or sunk, but a several design fault was exposed in Nobunaga's irom ships. Acrording to the account from the Mort isade, the Mort boarded the ô adake-bune on the starboard side, so that there was a rush to that side to repel them. At this point the heavily laden vessel samply heeled over and sank. Nevertheless, the Môrt had been bettered, and lost again in another enaseament in 1579.



Left: The battle of Kizugawaguchi in 1578 between the Möri and Oda Nobunaga, shown in a detail from the Ehon Taköki. The two battles at Kizugawaguchi were notable for Nobunaga's use of massive wooden battleships.

Opposite page: A victorious samurai cuts the head off his victim using his tantō (dagger) in this detail from the Ehon Tovotomi Kunkōki.

In spite of such experiences, however, most daimvo do not seem to have acquired a very firm grasp of naval warfare, as the Korean expeditions were to show. Samurai warfare was most successfully carried out on dry land. Even Toyotomi Hiddeyoshi, who made good use of naval transport exchiques for his Shikoku and Kyshich expeditions, was bettered by the Koreans when he had to send an army on a long overseas lourney.

#### AFTER THE BATTLE

#### The rituals of victory

When the pursuit was complete, or the castle had fallen, the rituals of victory could begin. The most informal, but the most common, would occur as night fell. As the victorious samural left the battlefield, their place was taken by scarengers from local villages, who invariably pullaged the bodies, dispatched wounded men, and stole any valuable weaponry or armour. Prizes other than equipment might also be gained. Following the battle of Yamazaki in 1582, the defeated Akechi Mitsuhud feld alone

from the battlefield, but was apprehended by local peasants and beaten to death in a bamboo grove

Behind the privacy of the general's make more dignified rituals were enacted, and even more ceremony surrounded the celebration of victory than attended the setting out to war. After a battle the victorious daimyo would wish to reward his loyal followers, and most of the ritual surrounding a victory celebration concerned the bizarre practice of head inspection, which is vital to understanding samurai warfare. As early as 1062 we read of Minamoto Yoshiie riding into Kvôto carrying the head of the rebel Abe Sadato as proof that he had fulfilled the government's commission. A few years later he was to throw into a ditch the heads of vanguished rebels when the government refused to reward a quelling of a rebellion undertaken without the correct requisition.

From being mere proof of a good job well done, the practice of head collection developed its own mystique, and every samurai who went out to fight appreciated that, to paraphrase the words of Tokugawa leyasu before the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, there were two alternatives: either to come



back with an enemy's bloody head in your hands, or to come back minus your own.

Prior to the daimy's inspection, the heads would be washed, the hair combed, and the resulting trophy made presentable by cosmetics. They would then be mounted on a spiked wooden board with labels for identification. This routine was a task tractionally done by women, and in Tanizaki's short story. The Secret History of the Lord of Musanith the process is described in great detail. The can'th is under sue, and the women of which the case of the secretary of the Lord of Musanith express such secretary with the women of which would be compared to the secretary of the women of which would be castle's innermost juriers.

"When she received a freshly washed head from the woman on the flet, she would first cut the cord that bound the topknot; then she would comb the shair carefully, craessingly. Sometimes she would apply a bit of oil, touch up the shaven area with a razor, or, kishig an incense burner from the surra stand at her side, hold the hair over the smoke. Next she would take up a new cord with her right hand, hold one end in her mouth as she gathered the hair together with her left hand, and tie up the topknot again - all exactly as a professional hairdresser might of If the ceremony was to be held with no time for this preparation, the heads could be presented on an opened war fan with a paper handkerchief or an opened war fan with a paper handkerchief or sosw leaves to soak up any dripping blood. The daimyō would sit in similar state to that he had enjoyed when he presided over the departure ceremony, and one by one the heads were brought be before him for comment. Weswing heads in this alfresco manner was one of the absorbing tasks afferseo manner was one of the absorbing tasks of performed by Imagawa Yoshimoto as he rested at Okehazama in 1500. A few minutes later he was surprosed and himself beheaded.

If a daimyō was otherwise engaged, the head ceremony could be delegated to a trusted subordinate, as noted in the Hôjō Godaiki, which also illustrates the practical considerations of assessment of warrior prowess that lay behind the ritual:

"It is Nakayama Shurisuke that Höjö Ujitsuna Favours to rase the flags and st on the camps-tool at Könodai. This is a person who is known for his traditional virtues of militara jote and loyalty by which he has destroyed enemies, carrying out strategy in numerous battles, and at the same time he is a samura official. This person will be bugyō for head inspection. He will record the relative importance of loyalties, and examine the details of contests when the heads were taken."

As illustrated by the Imagawa episode, the head-viewing ceremony was something to which the victorious general would give a great deal of attention. The prowess of both samurai and ashigaru was evaluated first on the basis of the number of heads they brought back. These would later be ranked according to the personal history and status of the enemy killed and the method by which the soldier had killed him. The highest honour was gained by taking a head following close single combat. Second was the use of a sword, spear or bow, and third was the employment of a firearm. Some consideration was also given to the time during the battle at which the enemy was killed. The Köyö Gunkan provides an illustration in the person of the famous sword fighter Tsukahara Bokuden:

"Bokuden himself fought in battle with the spear nine times and claimed 21 heads. Among those, seven were classified as yarishita and kuzurekiwa... He earned the title of valiant warrior (buhen)."

It is quite clear that the samurai took these matters very seriously. The category 'variwaki no kômyô' (assisting a comrade) would come in useful if there was a dispute over who had delivered the fatal blow. In one case during the siege of Ueda in 1600, the commander went to the unusual lengths of sending men in disguise into the enemy town to discover eve-witness accounts of a disputed combat. The categories involving 'firsts' were most valued, and there are many tales of rivalry over the opportunity to be the first into battle with sword or spear. The most famous is probably the competition between Kajiwara Kagesue and Sasaki Takatsuna at the second battle of Uii in 1184. To be first into this battle meant swimming one's horse across the river. Kajiwara was ahead when Sasaki told him that his saddle girth was loose. When Kajiwara paused to tighten it. Sasaki finished his crossing



When a head was brought for a commander's inspection, it was washed, aroomed and presented on a spiked board, as shown in this illustration from the Gunyōki. The correct position of the right and left hands are clearly delineated. Note also the label attached to the pigtail which bore the names of the victim and the trophy taker.

in first place. When Fukushima Masanori and Ikeda Terumasa attacked Gifu castle in 1600. they nad made an agreement that both should advance together, and nearly came to blows when Masanori perceived that Terumasa had moved ahead. A compromise was reached whereby one attacked the front gate, while the other assaulted the back.

When 33 heads had been taken by an individual it was usual for the samural to perform a Buddhist 'head memorial service' (kubi kuvō) for his victims. Among the Takeda the custom was for these head services to be performed after 50 deaths. All these points are illustrated in the Kövö Gunkan:

"Matsumoto fought in combat with the spear 23 times and claimed the heads of 25 samurai and 76 ashigaru. Twice he conducted services for those whose heads he claimed and this leaves one head remaining."

If a battle was very large, not all the hundreds of heads taken were saved. The Gunvöki quotes the following document:

"Tembun 2nd year (1533) 7th month, 6th day at the Hour of the Monkey. The list for Oyama, These are the heads that were taken:

Item: one head (belonging to) Maekawa Zaemon taken by Kinichi Danioshū and Shōshu Uemon. Item: one head (belonging to) no given name

known, taken by the chagen Genroku. Item: one head (belonging to) Arakamı firôzaemon, taken by Nagao Gagaku Sukeshū and Masuda Danjöchū.

The number of heads taken and discarded is not known"

The chagen called Genroku had conducted himself well!

One feature of the head inspection routine was that certain expressions on the faces of the deceased were supposed to be unlucky, and others bicky, viz:

Eves closed and peaceful - lucky, 'a head of the Buddha\*

Eyes looking towards heaven - unlucky (particularly among the Takeda)

Eyes looking towards the earth - lucky (particularly among the Takeda)

One eve closed, gnashing teeth, etc. unlucky

Eves looking towards the head's left - lucky in enemies

Eyes looking towards the right - lucky in allies

heads of their noble dead.

The above mention of the heads of allies refers to the practice of sending back to an enemy the

The head of a warrior who had fought bravely was sure to excite some comment from the victorious general, and history provides several examples. After the battle of Shinowara in 1183, Minamoto Yoshinaka thought he recognised the features of Saitō Sanemori, a veteran warrior

# THE CLASSIFICATION OF SAMURAL EXPLOITS

Samurai exploits in battle were classified and recorded as follows:

Ichihan yari - The first warrior to use a spear

in the attack on the enemy lines Ichihan tachi uchi - The first warmor to use a

sword in the attack on the enemy lines Ichiban kubi - To have taken the first head once the battle has started

Ichiban nori - To be the first to enter an enemy castle or fort

Tachi uchi no kōmyō - To have killed an enemy with a sword

Kumi uchi no kōmyō - To have killed an enemy stronger than oneself in single combat using

grappling techniques Yarishita no kômyô - To have killed an enemy and taken his head at the height of the battle Tsukiyari no kômyô - To have taken an enemy

head during spear fighting when many of the enemy were thrusting at you Yariwaki no komyo - To have assisted a

comrade in arms in his exploits Kuzurekiwa no kômyô - To hold the line when

the enemy forces your unit to retreat Shigariyari no komyo - To perform a rearguard

action when allies are in retreat Teoi no mikata o tasukete hiku buko - To help a wounded ally when retiring (Omaru 1994: 83).

The six varieties of expression on the face of a dead warrior (based on an illustration in Sasama 1968). From left to right and top to bottom: eves closed - lucky: eyes unwards - unlucky, eyes down - lucky; one eye closed and gnashing teeth unlucky; eves left - lucky in enemies; eyes right lucky in allies.

who had once saved his life, on a head brought to him for inspection. But the hair was jet black, not what one would expect in a old man. The head was washed, and black hair dve flowed out. revealing the true identity. Following the battle of Wakae during the summer campaign of Osaka in 1615, Tokugawa Jevasu was presented with the head of Kimura Shigenari, and discovered that Kimura had burned incense inside his helmet before putting it on, so as to make it a more attractive trophy.

A special privilege was reserved for the head of a defeated enemy general or a daimyo. It would be brought before the daimyo by two men, not just one, and after the victorious army had given the shout of victory the general would ceremoniously eat the same three dishes of which he had partaken before setting out, but with a difference the head of the defeated general was allowed to share the sake. In a grisly ritual some kombu (dried seaweed) was placed in the head's mouth. and sake poured on to it with much dignity from a long-handled cup. As may be imagined, the expression on the face of a dead daimyo was very closely examined, as the chronicle *O Monogatari* tells us of the occasion when Oda Nobunaga viewed the head of his bitter enemy Takeda Katsuyori in 1582:

"When Oda Nobunaga inspected the head of Takeda Katsuyon the right eye was closed and the left eye was enlivened with a scowl. Nobunaga was moved to sympathy at the sight of the dead head of the powerful general, and it is recorded that all concerned agreed that Nobunaga may have been victorious in battle, but had been defeated by Katsuyori's head."

#### Reward, recuperation and recording

For a retainer or an ally, alive and victorious, there were other welcome privileges and rewards after a battle, as we read in the chronicle Yamamoto Toyohisa Shiki, which refers to the Ösaka campaign:

"That night twenty-three heads were taken. At dawn on the seventeenth day twenty-four men were summoned before Hideyori ... and received rewards of gold. One man called Kimura Kizaemon who had suffered a wound was given surgery."

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#### RECORDS OF SERVICE IN KOREA

The genealogy of the Iriki-in family of Kydshic contains several fascinating records of the miliilary exploits of its members. The following extracts refer to the service in Korea given by likki-in Shigetoki and his adopted son Iriki-in Tadatomi, who, as vassals of the Shimazu, followed Shimazu, Yoshikirio, arms:

"In the summer of 1592 the Taiko Lord Hideyoshi ordered generals to make war upon Korea, When (Shimazu) Yoshihiro, obeying the order, embarked upon the expedition, Shigetoki was indisposed and unable to serve in person: thereupon he bade his kinsman Iriki-in Shigeoku and his karō Tōgō Jinza'emon Shigekage to go to Korea. One hundred and fifty warriors were organised into two contingents... At that time Shigeoku led 75 warriors, and, crossing the sea, met Lord Yoshihiro at Yong-p'yung chong. Thereafter they served in war for a year, during which (Shigetoki) several times sent over men of his family and vassals, and was never negligent in war-like service. In the spring of 1596, Shigetoki, having recovered from his illness, crossed to Korea, and met (Shimazu) Tadatsune at the camp of Katuk Island. At that time Möri Yoshinari, Itô Suketake, Akizuki Tanenaga, Takahashi Mototane and Shimazu Tadatovo were encamped at Ankol. about a ri from Katuk. When in the spring of

1597, Shigetoki, obeying Lord Tadatsune's command, went as envoy to the five lords at Ankol, and receiving their answers, hoisted sail on his return voyage, several guard ships of the enemy intercepted him. Shigetoki commanded and defended with guns, but was sorely pressed, when, seeing succouring ships issue from Katuk and Ankol, the enemy boats retreated. As Shigetoki defied the enemy of superior force and returned to Katuk, Lord Tadatsune greatly admired his conduct: the five lords at Ankol also sent messages of appreciation; and Shigetoki's fame spread on all sides. On the night of 27 August 1597, Lord Yoshihiro and Lord Tadatsune, consulting with the other lords, attacked and cut down the enemy's guard ships at Kŏiedo. When Namwon was reduced, on the night of 26 September, Shigetoki rendered military service. On 1 October 1598 an immense army of the Great Ming and Korea besieged the new fortress of Sach'on and attacked it fiercely. Lord Yoshibiro and Lord Tadatsune fought at the head of Namhae island, and killed several hundred of the enemy, capturing his vessels; in this battle Shigetoki did distinguished service, and many of his vassals, including Murao Kogoro and others, died in war. Thereafter (Shigetoki) returned to Japan in Lord Yoshihiro's retinue, and being granted leave at Nagoya, reached the residence at Yuno-o on 20 January 1599," (Asakawa 1929; 393),

cine' to stop the bleeding by his chief vassal Miura Motosada, who was from Iga province and is thus popularly credited with ninja skills.

Doctors, whether ninia or not, had the whole pharmacopoeia of traditional Chinese medicine at their disposal. Kannō (traditional medicine) came to Japan from China during the sixth and seventh centuries, and consisted of careful diagnosis and treatment with a large number of mainly herbal based drugs. A very common treatment, which looks strange to our eyes, was that of applying moxa. It was so highly regarded that a samurai was advised to carry moxa with him when on campaign. Moxa is a combustible substance made of the fine hairs densely matted on the undersurface of the leaves of yomogi (mugwort, or Artemis vulgaris var. indica) It is vellow and has no smell. As moxa cones burn on the skin for two or more minutes, a sensation of intense but hearable heat is felt. The places thus to be stimulated are chosen for reasons akin to those of acupuncture, with about 360 therapeutic points distributed over the body. They are arranged in systems, each corresponding to a certain internal organ, and moxa is applied when an illness interrupts the flow of energy through these identifiable points.

For a daimyo and his most privileged coterie. the arrival of peace would allow them the opportunity to relax and let their wounds heal in a hot spring. Most daimyo appreciated the effects of hot-spring bathing for treating wounds and general recuperation after a battle. The actual location of these hot springs was kept secret, as a wounded daimvo would be at his most vulnerable to an assassin. Takeda Shingen had three secret springs, one of which, at Shimobe in the mountains of Yamanashı prefecture, celebrates Shingen's use of its healing waters in an annual festival. The care Shingen took of his wounded men is confirmed by the records of the Frinii. Four months before one of his five battles at Kawanakajima, he requested the monks to make preparations ready to provide rest and recuperation facilities for the wounded

The final ritual of victory was the recording of the exploits. One popular tradition was to identify the seven most valiant warriors as the 'Seven Spears' of the battle in particular. An example may be found in the Iran-ki



One of the mass pougnant stories of the samurai concerns Saids Baemond, who dyed his white hair black to appear younger when setting off for he final battle in 1183. His head was presented to Minamoto Yachinaka, whose life Samemori had soved when Yoshinaka whose life Samemori had soved when Yoshinaka was a bady. Yoshinaka thought he recognised the old man's Features, but only realised that it was his former protector when the head was wested and the black day ran off.

"Today the reputation of our army binds us all in joy. When we consider the bravery of our soldiers and the quality of the military exploits, the conduct of Momoda Tobe, Fukukita Shōgen, Mort Sakroża tenno, Machia Kiyobei, Nimi Hibo, Yokoyama Jinsuke and Yamada Kanshiro have lifted them above the common herd. Due to their talents which are of the highest quality we name them the Seven Spears of Hijisyama.

Written certificates of deeds (kubi chümon) were awarded to meritorious warriors. This could also take the form of a letter of commendation (kanjiò). One, from Uesuji Kenshin and dated 1561, is addressed to Nakaji Erkuzen-no-kami Fujikashi, praising his behaviour at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561.

"We departed on the tenth day of the ninth month, and at the time when we gave battle to Takeda Harunobu at Kawanakajima in Shinano, he was a person unparalleled in the earnestness of his efforts. It is a fact that relatives, retainers and even reserve troops, a large number of whom were killed in hattle, were inspired to loval military service. Even though the rebels sent a thousand horsemen into the attack we won a great victory. an event that will give us satisfaction for many years to come. Furthermore, there was also much glory gained. These loyal exploits will certainly never be forgotten by the descendants of Uesugi Kagetora. We admire his military exploits all the more set beside the great importance of his lovalty, which is not surpassed by anyone."

A general account of exploits by anonymous soldiery was also valuable, as in the following fragment from the Kövő Gunkan, when ashigaru spearmen are 'mentioned in dispatches':

"Concerning the exploits of the samurai retainers of Takeda Shingen, in the first place the spearmen met, (earning) fame for their spears, and renown when the same ones grappled with and pulled down horsemen. We also praise the second rank of spearmen..."

Many records of exploits appear in family histories and genealogies. The following extracts are from the genealogy of the Iriki-in:

"When on 1 August 1539 Lord (Shimazu) Takahisa led a campaign at Ichiku. (Iriki-in) Shigetomo followed his father Shigetoshi and hastened to the lord's camp: thereafter, according to his father's command, (Shigetomo) remained there. When on the 27th day of the month, (the lord's forces) attacked the main fortress, Shigetomo led many warriors up the Dainichi-ii way, and rendered service, (his followers) Hagi Uname and Mizuike lūro specially distinguishing themselves. Because of his war-like service in this campaign, (Shigetomo) received a strict order that he should conquer and take the region of Sendai. On the night of 9 October 1539 (Shigetomo)

assaulted and took the fortress of Momotsugi. This fortress he had, in nursuance of the permission of the former taishū Katsuhisa, attacked every year and now took possession. On 21 October he attacked and took Kumanojo and Tazaki."

Later in the genealogy we find reference to Iriki-in Shigetoki's exploits in helping defend Shimazu territory against Hidevoshi's invasion of Kvůshů in 1587:

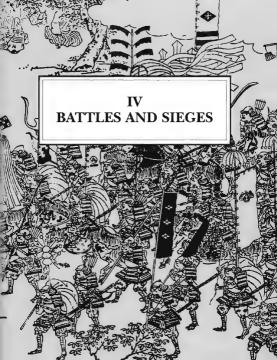
"When His Excellency Lord Hidevoshi came on his nunitive expedition he hade Konishi Yukinaga. Wakizaka Yasuharu, Kuki Yoshitaka and other generals, besiege the Hirasa fortress; when, on 3 June 1587 they attacked it fiercely, and Katsura Tadakira, custodian of the fortress, strongly defended it. (Shigetoki) sent as support his vassals Takagi Izumi, Seze Zenza'emon, and scores of other warriors. Takagi and Seze fought strenuously."

Longer accounts would appear in historical chronicles. The authors of such works, particularly if they were monks, would often draw a moral conclusion from the campaign or battle, as in the following panegyric from the Iran-ki which concludes the account of the defeat of Oda Nobuo in 1581:

"Thus did the samurai of the province of Iga make war on this occasion. They chased away in all directions generals who were from illustrious families, beginning with Lord Nobuo. It is not known how many were killed either here or at Zoninbara. I could run out of words and poetry in expressing the satisfaction of the people at the exploits of the village samurai in scouting operations, and in gaining victories! The great joy was unconfined.

It is because of this we build shrines and Buddhist temples on the approaches to the territory. Either that or I build a home and love dainty food and delicacies, appreciate good sake, seek only various luxuries and amusements, excess in debauched behaviour and wickedness. Brave conduct is then submerged by lust, and the Way of the Five Confucian Values is a thing that grows dim. Let the Way be our rule! Not to act correctly is the grave of destruction. On this occasion when the lga warriors had to make a response they gained a victory, If we continue to avoid extravagance and spurn evil things in the years to come. then we will be sure of divine protection, and everyone will raise their evebrows at us!"

The battle baying been fought and won, the trophies taken and examined, the part-time samurai of the territory could now return to their fields, until by the end of the sixteenth century even this would stop, and the samurai would be warriors and nothing else, having no function in life other than to serve their daimyo with loyalty and devotion in peace and war.



# BATTLES AND SIEGES

Fenth Century	197	Fourteenth Century	206
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Thirteenth Century	205	Seventeenth Century	250

The following section lists the major battles and sieges in samurah batory. They appear in chronological order, except for situations where geographical proximity, or continuation of an action, indicate that one entry should follow another for the reader's convenience. For further convenience, tuse the conventional term siege for describe any attack on a fortified position, regardless of whether the conflict was protonged or not.

#### The battle of Kojima, 940

The battle of Kojima ended the rebellion of Taira Masakado. Accounts of the conflict note a fierce gale which blew down the wall of wooden shields that Masakado had erected. Masakado was defeated by Taira Sadamori and Fujiwara Hidesato, and killed by an arrow.

# The battle of Kawasaki, 1057

The battle of Kawasaki was the first major conflict of the Early Nine Years' War (1051-63) waged by Minamoto Yoriyosah and his son Minamoto Yoshie against Abe Sadato. Sadato, with 4000 men, entrenched himself in a position at Kawasaki and was attacked by the Minamoto in a fierce blizzard. The Minamoto were driven off, and in the fighting retreat Yoshie earned the title 'Hachimantaro' (First Born of Hachiman the War God).

#### The siege of Kuriyagawa, 1062

The Minamoto besieged and defeated Abe Sadato in his stockade fortress of Kuriyagawa. To give thanks for their victory, Minamoto Yoshiie established the Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine in Kamakura.

# The siege of Kanezawa, 1086-9 The siege of Kanezawa saw the bulk of the

Minamoto Hachimantarô Yoshile was one of the early samurai heroes. He is shown in this book flustration by Hokusai mounted on a horse and in full yoroi armour, though with the addition of haldate (thighguards) which are incorrect for the period.

lighting of the Later Three Years' War conducted by Minamoto Yoshiie against Kiyowara ledira. On his way to the fortress Yoshiie observed a flock of birds rising in a disordered fashion from a forest and concluded that an ambush had been laid. The siege was protracted, and finally settled by a fierce assault

#### The siege of the Shirakawa-den, 1156

The attack on the palace known as the Shirakawa-den was the main action of the brief civil war known as the Hogen incident (Hogen no Ran). The palace was defended by Minamoto Tameyoshi and his son, the famous article Minamoto Tametomo. They were attacked by Minamoto (Tametomo. They were attacked by Minamoto (Tametomo.)



Kiyomori. After arrow duels in the dark, the palace was set on fire and the defenders were defeated.

# The siege of the Sanjō Palace, 1160

The attack on the Sanjó pelace was the main event of the Heij incident Heiji no Rani. The Minamoto, led by Yoshitomo, took the palace and captured the ex-emperor Go-Shirakawa. The Taira counter-attacked from their stronghold of Rokuhara. When the Minamoto met them in battle, they were defeated.

#### The first battle of Uii, 1180

The first battle of Uji is regarded as the opening conflict of the Gempel Wars between the Tairs and the Milamoto. This battle is famous for the defence of the broken bridge of Uji by, the warrior monks of Nara, who were allied to the veteran monks of Nara, who were allied to the veteran warrior Minamoto Yorimass. The pursuing Tairs at tacked from the north bank of the river, and drove their opponents back into the 8yodd in, where Yorimass committed hara-kir in a way that was to set the standard for generations to come.

# The siege of Nara, 1180

Following the battle of Uji, the victorious Taira troops burned Miidera temple, which had supplied monk soldiers at Uji. They then moved on to attack the old capital of Nara. There was stubborn fighting until Taira Shigehira ordered his men to set fire to the monastic complexes of Kôfukuji and Tôdaiji.

# The battle of Ishibashiyama, 1180

Ishibashiyama was the first attempt by Minamoto Yoritomo to challenge the Taira Although assisted by the Miura, Yoritomo was caught by a rapid night attack led by Oba Kagechika and heavily defeated.

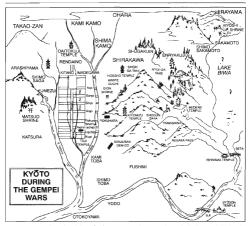
#### The battle of Fujigawa, 1180

Famous as the 'battle that never was', two armuse of Taira and Minamoto faced each other beneath Mount Fuji. During the night a flock of waterfowl caused panic in the Taira ranks, because the noise of their wings made the soldiers think that there was a night attack. The Taira withdrew.

# The battle of Sunomata, 1181

The Taira had more success in Owari province, where an army under Taira Tomomori fought Minamoto Yukiie. The armies were separated by a river, which the Minamoto crossed by night in the hope of making a surprise attack. The Taira allowed them to pass within their ranks and cut





them down, identifying friend from foe because the Minamoto were drapping wet. The surviving Minamoto were forced back across the river

# The battle of Yahagigawa, 1181

Retreating from Sunomata, Minamoto Yukiie attempted to make a stand by destroying the bridge over the Yahagigawa and putting up a defensive wall of shields. The Taira forced him to withdraw, but pulled back from a further pursuit when Taira Tomomori was taken ill.

# The siege of Hiuchi, 1183

The Taira army were moving north to confront Minamoto Yoshinaka when they came upon Hiuchi, a simple stockade fortress held by the Minamoto. It was built on rocky crags, and well defended. The Minamoto had built a dam to create a most, which hindered the Taira assault until a traitor shot an arrow telling them how to breach the dam and run off the water. After this, the castle soon fell to the Taira.

#### The battle of Kurikara (Tonamiyama), 1183

Kurikara was the battle by which the tide of the Gempei War turned in favour of the Minamoto. The Taira army was divided into two. The larger part, under Taira Koremori, crossed the pass of Kurikara and fought the battle. The smaller contingent entered Etchü through Noto province farther



The important victory of Minamoto Yoshinaka at the battle of Kurikara, 1183, is shown in this print. Yoshinaka is shown taking a Taira warrior off the cliff path following his surprise attack.

to the north, and gained a minor victory which was totally mullifled by the defeat at Kurikara. Yoshi-naka's army advanced to Kurikara from the east, and observed that the Taira were approaching the summit of Tonamiyama up the pass of Kurikara. He erected 30 white banners on Kurosaka hall, about two kilometres away, to make the Taira think they would be faced with a vastify supernor force when they descended. The Taira decided to Prove the Sandara and water them.

Yoshinaka divided his forces. One detachment was sent on a wide sweep to approach the Taira from the rear. Three units were detached to conceal themselves at the foot of Kunkara valley, which lay beneath the pass. The rest he held centrally. This force engaged the Taira in a long

archery duel to cover their comrades' movements. As the sun set, Joshinaka's encircing force arrived at the rear, well supplied with many more banners at the rear, well supplied with many more banners force. When the Taira reacted to this surprise, they we may a small mobile of force. When the Taira reacted to this surprise, they we may a further shock in front, Voshinaka's men had to the shock in front, Voshinaka's men had to the shock in front, Voshinaka's men had to the shock in front, Voshinaka's men had their horse. The force were freed, and the their horse. The Taira samural were knocked clean off the path by the frantic herd. The Taira samural were knocked clean off the path by the frantic herd. The Taira were driven down into the valley and heavity defeated in the confusion.

# The battle of Shinowara, 1183

At Shinowara, Minamoto Kiso Yoshinaka defeated Taira Munemori, who had retreated following the hattle of Kurikara. The battle began with an archery duel between ten champions from each sade, after which the fight became general. Several celebrated single combats took place here, and among the dead way Soshinaka's old retainer Saido Sanemori, who had dyed his hair black to appear younger.

# The battle of Mizushima, 1183

One of the most important bases for the Taira was Yashima on Shikoku island. Minamoto Yoshinaka sent an army under his general Yada Yoshiyasu to cross the Italand Sea Irom Mizushama in Bitchi province and attack Yashima. The Taira, under Taira Tomomori and Taira Noritsune, met them in a sea battle with their shighs teld together and planking laid to make a platform for fighting. The Minamoto were defeated in the hand-to-hand fishting.

#### The siege of Fukuryūji, 1183 Fukuryūji was a stockade fortress built and

defended by a Taira partisan, Seno Kaneyasu. It was attacked by Imai Kanehira, the companion of Minamoto Yoshinaka, who led his men in an assault across muddy ricefields under heavy archery fire. The Minamoto were victorious and Seno Kaneyasu died bravely in action.

# The battle of Muroyama, 1183

The Taira army, under the command of Taira Tomomori, fought Minamoto Yukije at Muroyama. The Taira divided their forces into five divisions. The four smaller units engaged Yukije in turn.

# NAVAL WARFARE IN THE GEMPEI WARS

During the battle of Mizushima in 1183, the Taira fastened their warships together and laid planks to make a fighting surface:

"The Heike ships were made fast alongside each other by hawsers from the stem and stern. and between these hawsers other rones were fastened, on which planks were stretched for walking, so that the whole fleet became like a level surface for the fighting men. As they were about to begin the onset. Noto no kami Noritsune cried out in a mighty voice. 'Ho! men of Shikoku! How can you bear the shame of being taken alive by these boors of the north! Upon them and grapple!" And so, shouting their warcry, they began the fighting, drawing their bows and pouring in a hall of arrows until they came to close quarters, when they drew their swords and engaged each other hand to hand. Some also plied long rakes with which they pulled their opponents into the water, and some. locked in the death grip, stabbed each other and fell into the waves... Then Yada no Hangan Yoshikiyo desperate at his fate, sprang into a small hoat with six of his retainers and led a fierce attack in the very forefront of the battle. but all in vain, for his boat was capsized by the enemy and all in it were drowned. Now the Heike had brought their horses with them in the ships, and as they approached the shore they pushed them off into the water to swim to the beach. Since they were ready accoutred, as soon as they found a foothold the riders clambered into their saddles and rode them with a mighty splashing through the shallows to the shore, and 500 horsemen, led by Noto no kami Noritsupe, precipitated themselves on the Genji, who, discomfited by the death of both their leaders, fled headlong in confused panic."

Yukile, heavily outnumbered and worn down by repeated attacks, escaped and fled when surrounded

# The siege of the Höjüjiden, 1184

The defeat of his ally Yukile did not prevent Minamoto Yoshinaka from entering Kyöto in



The defence of a stockade castle during the Cempes War is shown in this detail from a painted screen in the Watanabe Museum, Tottori, It is a Taira passession (probably ichinotani) as shown by the red flags. Archer shoot down from the open top of the gateway, while another archer with a full autwer climbs up the ladder to join them. Three horsemen prepare to saily out.

triumph, but the depredations wreaked there by his men were so great that he was challenged by an army of Taira sympathisers, court nobles and warrior-monks from Mount Hies and Middera. Yoshinaka attacked the Höjüjiden Palacc, which was set alight with fire arrows. There was much flighting in the streets before Yoshinaka won a victory.

#### The second battle of Uii, 1184

At the second battle of Uji, Minamoto Yoshinaka used the river as a defence, but in reverse from the situation in 1180. His cousin Minamoto Yoshit.

sune's army crossed the river on their horses to attack him. The incident of the rivalry between Kajiwara Kagesue and Sasaki Takatsuna, who both wanted to be the first into action, occurred at this battle. Yoshinaka was defeated and pursued.

#### The battle of Awazu, 1184

Minamoto Kiso Yoshinaka was finally defeated at Awazu by his cousins Yoshitsune and Mornyori. Driven from Kyōto, Kiso joined up with his companion imal Kanehira near Seta. His wife Tomoe Gozen fought beside him, and took an enemy head in the battle. Kiso Yoshinaka was struck dead by an arrow when his horse became mired in a paddy field, and finally imal Kanehira committed an honourable sucide by diving off his horse with his sword in his mouth.

# The battle of Ichinotani, 1184

Ichinotani was a fortress owned by the Taira on the sea coast at Suma, to the west of present-day Kobe, Minamoto Yoshitsune sent his main army along the sea coast from the west, while he led a surprise attack from the rear. This was a particularly dangerous operation as to the rear of Ichinotani was a steep cliff, but Yoshitsune led his detachment down the cliff on horseback. They stormed the rear of Ichinotani, which was relatively unguarded, and the fortress was set on fire. Many celebrated acts of single combat took place on the beach as the Taira tried to escape to their boats. In one tragic incident Kumagai Naozane killed Taira Atsumori, a youth of the same age as the son he had lost. The majority of the Taira managed to escape by ship, and were pursued to Vachima

# The battle of Kojima, 1184

At Kojima, on the Inland Sea coast, Minamoto Noriyori defeated a Taira army. Sasaki Moritsuna led the attack by swimming his horse across the narrow strip of sea between Kojima and the mainland.

#### The battle of Yashima, 1184

Yashima is a volcanic plateau which in 1184 was separated from the mainland of Shikoku island by a narrow strait. The Taira lay anchored in the strait and the Minamoto sailed across the inland



Tomoe Gozen, the wife of Minamioto Yashinaka, was a warrior in her own right, and fought beside her husband at the battle of Awazu in 1184 where they both met their ends. She is shown fully armoured but without a helmet and is wielding a naainata.

Sea by night. They attacked from the land, covering their movements by the smoke of burning buildings. At Yashima occurred the famous incident where Nasu Yoichi shot a fan from off the mast of a Taira ship. The Minamoto were victorious but again the Taira escaped by sea.

#### The battle of Dan no Ura, 1185

Dan no Ura, a sea battle, was the conflict which ended the Gempei Wars, and was one of the most decisive battles in Japanese history. The Minamoto ships went into battle with bows and sterns abreast while the Taira formed three squadrons. The battle started with a long range archery duel. The Taira took the initiative in the early stages because the tide conditions were in their favour, and it appears that Taira Tomomori used his experience of the tidal conditions in the strait. At the start of the battle there was an ebb tide flowing slowly into the Inland Sea, so his ships attempted to surround the Minamoto fleet. By 11.00 a.m. the two fleets were closely engaged with sword and dagger fighting. but at about this time the tide changed, and began to flow westwards out of the strait. This gave the advantage to the Minamoto, who exploited it to the full. Gradually the battle turned in their favour, and victory was assured when one of the Taira commanders, Miura Yoshizumi, turned traitor and attacked the Taira from the rear. He was also able to inform the Minamoto that the largest ship in the fleet did not contain the emperor, so the Minamoto numed their forces on to the correct target. The Minamoto archers concentrated on the rowers and the helmsmen, so that the Taira ships were soon out of control, and began to drift back with the tide. Realising that the battle was lost, many of the Taira committed suicide.

# The battle of Koromogawa, 1189

Although the victories won by Minamoto Yoshitsune gained the title of shogun for his brother Yoritomo, Yoritomo's jealousy led him to banish Yoshitsune, who was pursued to the far north of Japan, where he was defeated in battle at Koromogawa along with his faithful companion, the monk Benkel

#### The third battle of Uii, 1221

The third battle to be fought across the Uji river was the main fighting of the Shökyû War, whereby the emperor Go-Toba attempted to overthrow the Höjö regency. The Höjö army under Höjö Yasutoki

#### THE USE OF THE NAGINATA IN BATTLE

The naginata was the traditional weapon of the sôhei (priest-soldiers). In the Taiheiki there is a vivid account of a single combat between a sôhei armed with a naginata and a mounted samurai:

"Just then a monk kicked over the shield in front of him and sprang forward, whirling his naginatal kie a water wheel. It was Kajisus of Harima. Skifo received him with his right arm, meaning to cut down into his helmet bood, but the glancing swered struck down lightly from Kajitoxi shoulder-plate to the cross stitching at the bottom of his armour. Again Kaitis struck forcefully, but his left foot broke through its stirrup, and he was likely to fall from his horse. As he straightened his body, Kajitsu thrust up his naginata, and two or three times drove its point quickly into his helmet. Kaito fell off his horse, pierced cleanly through the threat. Swiftly Kajitsu put down his toot on Kaito's armour, seized his side hair, and cut off his head, that he might fix it to his naginata, Rejoicing, he mocked the enemy."

On the occasion of an incursion to Kyöto by the monks of Mount Hiel, the samural defenders used their skills as mounted archers to harass the monks, most of whom were on foot and armed with naginata:

The monks went out before the west gate of the temple, a mere thousand men, unsheathing their weapons and butting against the enemy drawing near. But these pulled back their horses and retreated nimbly when the monks attacked, and galloped round to the rear when the monks stood in their places, as it was planned from the beginning. Thus they galloped and harassed them six or seven times, until at length the bodies of the monks grew wears, by reason that they fought on foot and wore heavy amour. Seizing the advantage, the warnors sent forward archers to shoot them merelessly."

As the samural close in on them the naginate finally come into their own for a last-dirich struggle: "So they spoke, whirling their great four shake-long naginata like water wheels. Again and again they leaped and attacked with flying sparks of fire. Many were the warriors whose horses' legs were cut when they sought to smite these two. Many were those who fell to the ground and perished with smashed helmest. advanced on Kyōto, where Go-Toba's army had defended the Uji bridge. The Hōjō were victorious after a long day's fighting, and crossed the bridge to enter Kyōto in triumph.

#### The first Mongol invasion, 1274

The first invasion of Japan by Kubbai Khan in 1274 took place in the vicinity of the present-day citok place in the vicinity of the Present-day citok place in Tsushima and Jik, the Mongols Fought Tsushima and Jik, the Mongols Fought dedending samurai with clouds of arrows and firebombs fling by catapult. The invasion was called off after a day, suggesting that it was no more than a reconnaissance in force.

#### The second Mongol invasion, 1281

By the time the Mongol fleet returned, the Japanese had built a defensive wall round Hakata bay. Here they held the attacks and raided the Mongol fleet in small boats. When the full Mongol fleet arrived, the Japanese expected a buge attempt at landing, but a typhoon (called the kami-kaze or divine wind) blew up and smashed the Mongol ships.

#### The siege of Kasagi, 1331

The attack on the mountain fortress of Kasagi was one of the first actions of the rebellion led by emperor Go-Daigo against the forces of the Höjö regency. Kasagi fell to a night raid led by two regency. Kasagi fell to a night raid led by two raids jiró, who cilmbed up the cliffs on which the castle was built and set fire to varrous buildings. Go-Daigo fled as the castle fled

# The siege of Akasaka, 1331

Akasaka was a mountain fortress held by Kusunoki Masashige in the name of the emperor Go-Daigo. The forces of the Hojo regency tred to take it on several occasions. Masashige defended it with great ingenuity, but Akasaka eventually fell when its water supply was cut.

# The siege of Chihaya, 1333

Kusunoki Masashige's defence of the mountain top fortress of Chihaya is one of the classic sieges in Japanese history, with both sides demonstrating great skills in siegecraft. Chihaya was much stronger than Akasaka, and held out to attacks. using movable bridges and fire, its defenders replying with armies of dummy troops, surprise raids and much hand-to-hand fighting.

#### The siege of Kamakura, 1333

Kamakura was the capital of the Hojo regency. Through the surrounding hills were seven passes. each guarded by checkpoints. Nitta Yoshisada divided his forces into three divisions to attack from the north, east and west. After hours of fierce fighting no real breakthrough had been achieved, particularly on the western flank where the Gokurakuii pass was completely shut off with rows of stout wooden shields. Nitta Yoshisada realised that there was a chance of by-passing Gokurakuji altogether if it were possible to round the cape where the promontory of inamuragasaki projects into the sea. He threw his sword into the sea as an offering to the Sun Goddess, and the waters 'parted by miracle'. When the lovalists entered the city they began to get the upper hand, and the leaders of the Hōiō withdrew from their positions and retired to a temple called the Toshou, Here they committed suicide in the privacy of a cave behind the temple.

#### The battle of Tatarahama, 1336

Tatarahama was a beach in Chikuzen province north of present-day Hakata where the forces of Ashikaga Takauji defeated Kikuchi Taketoshi. With this victory Ashikaga Takauji reversed his position and gained sufficient support for him to return to the mainland of Honshů.

# The battle of Minatogawa, 1336

The battle of Minatogawa, fought where the city of Kobe now stands, is famous for the loyalty displayed by Kusunoki Masashige. He was in favour of withdrawing to the mountains to fight a guernila war, but the emperor Go-Daigo wanted to make a stand against the Ashitaga, Kusunoki's sense of duty forced him to agree, although he knew the situation was hopeless. At Minatogawa, Kusunoki Masashige and Nitta Yoshisada defended a postition against Ashitaga Takauji. Takauji advanced by sea, while Ashikaga Tadayoshi, whose vanguard was led by Shöni Yori has, advanced by land. They were joined by a large seaborne reinforcement from Shikoku led by the

Nitta Yoshisada at the siege of Kamakura, 1333, is the subject of this print. His army is fighting its way along the beach towards the city that was the Hojo capital.





# The battle of Fujishima, 1338

At the battle of Fujishima in Echizen province, Nitta Yoshisada was defeated by an Ashikaga army and was killed by an arrow

# The battle of Shijo Nawate, 1348

At the battle of Shijō Nawate, Kusunoki Masatsura, son of the late Masashige, was killed while fighting against the Kō.

#### The Önin War 1467-77

The Onto War, the conflict by which the Sengolu-Perod is usually rectored as beginning, was largely fought within the city of Kyoto, in the area to the west of the Kamar here. The main Irvials were Yamana Sözen and Hosokawa Katsumoto. Trenches were dug and buildings demolished to build barricades during the first few months of the fighting. Much of the city was destroyed as the war dragged on among the ruins and spread to neighbouring provinces.

# The battle of Kuzuryūgawa, 1506

The battle of Kuzurugawa was fought between Asakura Norikage and the Ikko-ikki of Kaga

province, who provided a challenge to him for the whole of his samurai career.

#### The siege of Gongenyama, 1510

Uesugi Tomoyoshi's retainer, Ueda Masamori, rebelled against him and laid siege to his castle of Gongenyama, but was defeated.

#### The siege of Arai, 1516

On July 11 1516, Höjö Söun attacked Arai castle, which was owned by Miura Yoshiatsu. Seeing defeat as inevitable, Miura Yoshimoto, Yoshiatsu's son, committed suicide by cutting off his own head.

# The battle of lidagawara, 1521

At Jidagawara, Takeda Nobutora, father of the famous Shingen, defeated Imagawa Ujichika's general, Fukushima Hyögo, on 16 October 1521.

# The siege of Edo. 1524

The taking of Edo castle, otherwise known as the battle of Takanawshara, happened in Jamus 1524. Edo was held by Ota Suketaka, a vassal of the Ogigayatsu branch of the Uesugi family. On being defeated at Takanawshara by Höjö Ujitsuna, the castle of Edo, built on the site of what is now the Immerial Palace in Tokyo, passed to the Hölö.

# The battle of Nashinokidaira, 1526

At Nashinokidaira, Höjö Ujitsuna was defeated by Takeda Nobutora on 8 July 1526.

# THE TREATMENT OF A CAPTURED NINIA

As a separate extract reveals, traitors could expect no mercy, and anyone who infiltrated an enemy camp risked certain death if captured. When Masaki Tokishige attacked Maki castle, a reacherous conspiracy within his own ranks posed the threat of failure. As he could not immediately distinguish any who were traitors to the enemy side, he carried out a careful investigation, and discovered three minja from within Maki castle who had infiltrated his army. The ning were arrested, and this extract from Karhusshik Kosenroki shows how one of the captured ninja was used to deliver a very sharp message to the defenders:

"Among them was one man, they ripped off his ears and nose and the haur off his head and his sidelocks, tet file his hards behind his back, and gave him a small paper flag with the mon of a Chinese Beilflower design drawn on it. In addition, because from among the three ninja from Malt that were captured he was acting on direct orders from Malt Orishnan Wysdot, hey wrote 'in this way he goes' on the flag, and delivered him to the front jate of Maki castle in the middle of the night. There they tied him to a posit in the stockade, and left him." Takhashal 1965; 291.

#### The siege of Kamakura, 1526

During his campaign against the Hojo family. Satomi Sanetaka entered Kamakura in December 1526. Various retainers of Höjö Ujitsuna, including Itô and Ogasawara, met him in battle, during which the famous Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine was set on fire and destroyed.

# The battle of Ozawahara, 1530

At Ozawahara, Hőiő Utivasu fought his first battle at the age of fifteen. It was conducted against Uesugi Tomooki, of the Ogigavatsu branch of the Uesugi.

# The battle of Shiokawa no gawara, 1531 On 12 March 1531 Takeda Nobutora fought Suwa

Yorishige at this place.

#### The battle of Idano, 1535

On 5 December 1535, Matsudaira Kivovasu, whose grandson was to be the famous Tokugawa Jevasu. was murdered by one of his vassals. Abe Masatovo. Seven days later both sides met in battle at Idano in Mikawa province.

# The battle of Sendanno. 1536

In December 1536 Nagao Tamekage set out from Kasugayama castle to fight the Ikkō-ikki of Kaga province. At the battle of Sendanno he was defeated and killed, along with many of his men. Tamekage's son Territora became the famous Uesugi Kenshin.

#### The battle of Un no kuchi, 1536

Takeda Nobutora attacked Hiraga Genshin at Unno kuchi but was forced to retreat. His fifteenyear-old son, the future Takeda Shingen, volunteered to take the rear in the withdrawal. When they were well clear of the castle, the young hero turned round and marched through the snow to find the castle garrison completely unprepared. They surrendered to the Takeda without fighting.

# The first siege of Musashi-Matsuvama, 1537

Matsuvama castle in Musashi province was owned by the Uesugi and besieged by the Höiö. During the siege the Uesugi sent a message for help to their headquarters tied on to the collar of a dog. The request was unsuccessful and the castle fell into Hojo hands but was recaptured in 1563.

# The first hattle of Könodai, 1538

At the first of two battles to be fought at Konodai (the other occurred in 1564) Höjö Ujitsuna defeated the combined forces of Satomi Yoshitaka and Ashikaga Yoshiaki.

#### The siege of Aki-Koriyama, 1540-1

Amako Harubisa, with 3000 men, laid siege to Mori Motonari's castle of Korivama in Aki province. defended by 8000 men. Mori sent an army to its relief and Amako was driven off

# The siege of Toda, 1542-3

Ouchi Yoshitaka personally led a siege against Toda castle in Izumo province, which was owned by Amako Haruhisa, Failing in his attempts, Yoshitaka withdrew to Yamaguchi, and indulged more and more in pleasures, until he was deposed by his retainer. Sue Harukata.

The siege of Iimori, 1542 The attack on limori castle was conducted by the Matsuura family as part of their move towards attaining supremacy in the islands off north-west Kvűshű

#### The first battle of Azukizaka, 1542

At this battle of Azukizaka in Mikawa province, Oda Nobuhide fought and defeated Imagawa Voshimoto

# The hattle of Sezawa, 1542

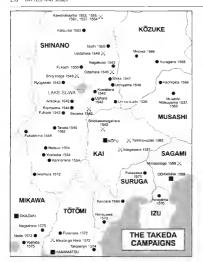
In an attempt to stop Takeda Shingen's invasion of Shinano province, the combined forces of Ogasawara Nagatoki, Suwa Yorishige, Murakami Yoshikiyo and Kiso Yoshiyasu met him in battle at Sezawa on 9 March 1542, but were defeated.

# The siege of Uehara, 1542

Takeda Shingen crossed the border between Kai and Shinano provinces, and captured Uehara castle from Suwa Yorishige.

#### The siege of Kuwabara, 1542

The following day, Takeda Shingen took Yorishige's Kuwabara castle. Suwa Yorishige was taken back to Köfu on the pretext of safe conduct. but was then forced to commit suicide.



The slege of Fukuyo, 1542 In October 1542 Takeda Shingen began his advance down the Ina valley when his vanguard under Komai Masatake attacked Tozawa Yorichika at Fukuyo. Yorichika, who was the ally of Takatō Yoritsuzu. surrendered.

# The battle of Ankokuji, 1542

At the same time as the fall of Fukuyo, Takatō Yoritsugu was himself defeated by Shingen's general, Itagaki Nobukata, at Ankokuji. Yoritsugu's younger brother Yorimune was killed.

# The siege of Nagakubo, 1543

Oi Sadataka, the keeper of Nagakubo castle, deserted Takeda Shingen for Murakami Yoshikiyo. As part of his drive into the Saku area, Shingen captured Nagakubo and sent Sadataka as a prisoner to Kofu, where he was killed.

# FIGHTING AT NIGHT - THE BATTLE OF KAWAGOE

In one of the most celebrated night battles in Japanese history, Hójó Ujiyasu led a relieving force to assist Hójó Tsunanari at Kawagoe castle, and defeated a huge army before daybreak-Ujiyasu's orders for his men have been preserved in the following short extract from the Hójó Gedníki and show the extra considerations who a general had to make when committing his forces to a battle under such difficult circumstances. Note in particular the prohibition against taking heads, which was a time-consuming operation at the best of times:

Do not wear heavy armour

Do not take heads When cutting your way into the enemy, do it in all directions

Do not huddle together in one place

#### The siege of Kojinyama, 1544

Kojinyama was a further Tozawa possession in the Ina valley taken by Shingen.

# The first siege of Takato, 1545

Takeda Shingen captured Takatô castle in the Ina valley from Takatô Yoritsugu when the latter was unable to obtain help from his allies, Ogasawara Nagatoki and Tozawa Yorichika.

# The siege of Ryūgasaki, 1545

Ryūgasaki was a satellite castle of Fukuyo. It fell to Takeda Shingen in 1545.

# The battle of Kawagoe, 1545

In 1544 the two branches of the Uesugi family, the Ogigayatsu under Uesugi Tomosada, and the Yamanouchi under Uesugi Nortmasa, Joined forces with Imagawa Ujichika and Ashikaga Haruuji to attack the strategic Kawagoe castle, held for the Holjo by Höji Sruannari with a garrison of 3000 men. He was opposed by about 100,000 besiegers. Höjö Ujiyasu dar a releving force of 8000 in a daring night march. At the resulting battle of Kawagoe, which was entirely fought in darkness, Höjö Ujiyasu defeated the coalition and Uesugi Tomosada was kalled in action.

# The siege of Uchiyama, 1546

Uchiyama, in Saku, was held by Oi Sadakiyo, son of Sadataka, and was taken by Takeda Shingen in 1546 by starving the garrison.

#### The battle of Odaibara, 1546

At Odaihara, in Saku, Takeda Shingen, who was besieging Shika castle at the time, defeated Uesugi Norimasa.

#### The siege of Shika, 1547

To intimidate the garrison of Shika, Shingen had the 300 freshly severed heads from the battle of Odaihara displayed in front of the castle walls. Takeda Shingen captured Shika from Kasahara Kiyoshige in 1547.

#### The Battle of Kanoguchi, 1547

As part of a long rivalry, Saitô Dôsan fought Oda Nobuhide, father of the famous Oda Nobunaga, at Kanoguchi. Nobuhide was defeated with the loss of two close relatives.

# The battle of Uedahara, 1548

The force that had captured Shika joined another Takeda army under Shingen, who led 7000 men from Köfu to meet a threat from the north by Murakami Yoshikiyo, Yoshikiyo crossed the Chikumagawa and advanced on Shingen's army at Uedahara. The battle of Uedahara took place on 14 February. Shingen's vanguard were led by Itagaki Nobukata, who met the Murakami vanguard head-on. The Murakami absorbed the Takeda charge within their ranks, and Itagaki Nobukata was killed fighting. Two other prominent Takeda leaders. Amari Toravasu and Hajikano Den'emon, were also killed in action. Seven hundred Takeda soldiers died at Hedahara in the first defeat that Takeda Shingen had suffered in his life. In the midst of the fighting, Shingen was himself wounded by a spear thrust to his left side. Even though Uedahara was a defeat, the Kövö Gunkan records it as a victory. Among Murakami's troops were 50 ashigaru armed with Chinese arquebuses, which makes Uedahara the first field battle in Japanese history at which guns were used.

### The battle of Shiojiritoge, 1548

At Shiojiritoge, Takeda Shingen took his revenge for Uedahara when he defeated Ogasawara Naga-

# THE HEROIC SUICIDE OF A SAMURAI'S WIFE

One of the most interesting examples of military architecture in Japan is the recently excavated and partially restored site of Sakassi castle, a former Holfo fortress. A section of the walls, a watchtower and other buildings have been rebuilt authentically, giving an excellent impression of the Sengoku fortress. Within the area of the dry most lies a pound which acted as the castle's well, and in 1536 became the site of a dramatic act of suicide. The following account is taken from the castle guide book, which I have paraphrased:

"In 1536 the castle was still owned by the family of Sakasai, a minor daimyo typical of many during the early Sengoku Period, as Sakasai was typical of the wooden castle surrounded by ditches that provided their defence. The head of the family in 1536 was Sakasai Muneshige, who faced an attack by the expansive Höjö family in the person of Daidöil Suruga no kami. On 3 March 1536 Muneshige was killed fighting in the flerce assault. His nineteen-year-old wife, who was called Tomohime or Tomogozen, decided to follow her husband in death as befitted the consort of a brave daimyo. She therefore took the bronze temple bell from the castle which had been handed down from generations of the family and slipped it over her shoulders. She then jumped into the pond, and the weight of the bell held her under until she drowned. Shortly after this the castle fell to the Hōiō, and staved as their possession until Hideyoshi's victory in 1590

Efforts were made in succeeding years to recover the bell, which was never found, suggesting that this may have been a detail added to this noble act of suicide, but the pond is still known as the kanehori fike (literally free bell pulling-out pond) to this day. Muneshige's younger brother Sakasai Toshmitsu founded the nearby temple of Johanji in their memory. toki in a surprise night attack. Using only a rapid mounted force, he approached the Ogasawara camp by night, and attacked at dawn while the Ogasawara samurai grabbed armour and weapons.

#### The siege of Kajiki, 1549

Shimazu Takahisa captured Kajiki castle in 1549. The action is noteworthy as it saw the first use of Portuguese-derived firearms in a Japanese battle.

# The siege of Fukashi, 1550

Fukashi castle was one of a number of minor fortresses captured from Ogasawara Nagatoki by Takeda Shingen during his advance into Shinano. Baba Nobuharu was placed in charge of Fukashi, which is now the site of the castle of Matsumoto.

# The sieges of Toishi, 1550-1

Takeda Shingen continued his campaign against Murakami Yoshikiyo when Sanada Yukitaka took Toishi castle in 1551. The Murakamu casualities reached 1000 men. but Shingen's general, Yokota Takatoshi, was killed.

#### The siege of Takiyama 1552

The Mori captured this castle in Bingo province in spite of a bombardment from catapults which accounted for one sixth of their casualties, the rest being from arrows and spears.

# The first battle of Kawanakajima, 1553

In June Takeda Shingen had penetrated north into the Kawanakajima platn as far as the present-day town of Yashiro. Here his vanguard encountered the Uesugi army near a shrine to Hachiman, but soon disengaged. They came into conflict again a few kilometres to the north at Fuse. Once again both sides avoided a decisive battle.

# The siege of Katsurao, 1553

Heading north towards Ueda once again, Takeda Shingen took Katsurao castle from Murakami Yoshikiyo, followed four months later by taking Wada, Takashima and Fukuda.

# The siege of Kiso Fukushima, 1554

In his advance down the Kiso valley, Takeda Shingen took Fukushima castle on the Kiso river from Kiso Yoshiyasu by starving out the garrison.

#### The siege of Kannomine, 1554

In another campaign down the Ina valley, Takeda Shingen captured Kannomine from Chiku Yorimoto.

# The siege of Matsuo, 1554

Continuing down the Ina valley, Takeda Shingen captured Matsuo from Ogasawara Nobusada, and soon after, the nearby Yoshioka castle surrendered.

# The siege of Muraki, 1554

At Muraki, which was a fortress owned by Imagawa Yoshimoto, Oda Nobunaga made early use of the method of rotating volley firing of arquebuses.

# The battle of Oshikibata, 1554

The battle of Oshikibata was effectively a preliminary round to the battle of Miyajima. At Oshikibata, Mori Motonari, with an army of 3000 men, defeated a retainer of Sue Harukata called Takagawa with an army of 7000 men.

#### The battle of Mivaiima, 1555

Sue Harukata had fortified the holy island of Mipjima in the Inland Sea. Taking advantage of a blinding rainstorm, the Mori launched a surprise attack. Mori Motonari and his two sons, Mori Takamoto and Kikkawa Motoharu, sailed round the northern tip of the island to land unseen on a beach to the rear of the Sue nositions. At the same

Uesugi Kenshin at the second battle of Kawanakajima, 1555, otherwise known as the battle of Saigawa. Kenshin is seated on a camp-stool surrounded by his army, looking across the Saigawa towards the Takeda

positions.

time Mori's other son, Kobayakawa Takakage, sailed up the strait in view of the Suc castle, but then doubled back when out of sight, and made a frontal assault at dawn, synchronised with his father's attack from the rear. By the victory of Miyajima the Móri were raised to a pre-eminent position in this part of Japan.

# The second battle of Kawanakajima, 1555

Otherwise known as the hattle of Saigawa this took place when Shingen returned to the contest for Kawanakajima and advanced across the plain as far as the Saigawa. He occupied a hill called Otsuka just to the south of the river and made camp on it. Kenshin's army was based on a hill called Shiroyama just east of the Zenköji, a position which offered a commanding view of the Kawanakajima plain. But Kenshin did not completely control these northern hills, because a few miles to the west lav Asahiyama, on which was a castle of the same name that was controlled by a family known as Kurita, who were sympathetic to the Takeda, and therefore menaced Kenshin's right flank. Shingen had reinforced Kurita Kakuju's garrison with an army of 3000 men, of whom 800 were archers and 300 arquebusiers. Kenshin attacked Asahiyama with great ferocity. but was repulsed. Eventually Kenshin abandoned the attempt and led his army down to the Saigawa, where he arranged his samura; against Shingen on



#### SINGLE COMBAT IN THE SENGOKU PERIOD

The incident which follows occurred during the siege of Ueda castle in 1600, the action whereby the Sanada family managed to delay Tokugawa Hidedaad for so long that he missed the hatte of Sekigahara. It illustrates well the persistence of the samural belief in the destribility of single combat. The central character, Mitogami Tenzen, later changed his name to Ono Tadashi, or Tenzen, later changed his name to Ono Tadashi, or displaying the size of sword faghting from the Itto-yya. The story is from the Ko-yya from the Itto-yya. The story is from the

"On the sixth day of the ninth month at the hour of the dragon in the early morning. through the main gate which Sanada's retainer Nezu Chōemon had responsibility for defending, two samurai. Yoda Hyöbu and Yamamoto Kiyoemon, went out on observation duties. There was an artificial river bank about two cho from the castle gate, and here they concealed themselves. From behind them came an ashigaru called Saitō Sasuke, dressed like a vamabusht. He called out his name and began to recite his pedigree. As he was doing this he caught sight of Mikogami Tenzen and Tsuji Tarô no suke from Makino Yasunari's camp on the Tokugawa side rushing towards him, one hehind the other Saito turned and ran for his life. Mikogami and Tsuji gave up trying to catch him and started running to where Yoda and Yamamoto were hiding. Yoda and Yamamoto jumped up on top of the river bank and crossed spears with Mikogami and Tsuii below. But the two men made their way on to the bank and a heated combat ensued. Just then, also from the Tokugawa side, five men came running: Asakura Tôjūrô, Toda Hampei, Nakayama Kagevu, Shizume Ichizaemon, and Ota Zendavii. Ota was an archer who accompanied the spearmen when they were in formation.

"As for the two soldiers from Sanada's side, Yamamoto Gught so hard that the shaft of his spear actually broke, and he was wounded in four places. Realising that they were no match for them, he withdrew. Yoda was seriously wounded and collapsed in front of the castle's main gate. Mikogami drew his sword and cut deeply into Yoda's forehead with a single stroke. Tsuji, too, came forward and delivered a single blow to Yoda's head. But then Yamamoto rushed forward wildly, swinging his blade, and drove the two swordsmen away, then carried Yoda's dead body in through the gate.

"Seeing this, Makino Yasunari shouted to his men, 'Don't let Tsuji and Mikogami be caught! Attack!' His men yelled their acknowledgement and no less than one hundred horsemen galloped forward.

"Tsuii, Mikogami and the others became known as the 'Seven Spears of Sanada', but it was impossible to tell whether it was Mikogami's or Tsuii's cut to the head that had killed Yoda. Mikogami said, 'Yoda was wearing a red-lacquered helmet and was not wearing a face mask.' Toda insisted that Yoda wore a red-lacquered face mask and that it was he who made the first strike. Hearing this, and being unable to determine who should be credited with the killing. Makino had several retainers disguise themselves as horse traders and sent them to Nagano to enquire about the details of the battle. The retainers were fortunate in that they ran into Yamamoto Kiyoemon and asked him about what had happened during the battle. Yamamoto replied, 'Yoda was not wearing a face mask. I think you can conclude that the man who claimed that he did was the one who struck him after he was already dead. With the first slash, blood would have run down Yoda's face. In his haste to get in a blow for himself, it certainly is possible that he mistook the bloody face for a red-lacquered face mask.' When they reported back to Makino he was convinced and awarded the killing to Mikogami,"

the northern bank Roth armies sat and waited until November for the other to make a move. But there was little fighting, and the contest became one of political manoeuvring. Kenshin was faced with the defection from his albes of a retainer called Kitaiö Takahiro, who held a strategically important castle, and eventually both armies nulled back to deal with such domestic affairs.

# The battle of Daishoji-omote, 1555

Daishoii-omote was a further engagement by Asakura Norikage in his long war with the Ikkô-ikki of Kaga province.

# The battle of Nagaragawa, 1556

The battle of Nagaragawa was fought across the Nagara river between Saitō Dōsan Toshimasa and his adopted son. Saitō Yoshitatsu. The elder Saitō. was killed, giving Oda Nobunaga, his son-in-law, an excellent pretext for destroying the victor.

# The third battle of Kawanakajima, 1557

Takeda Shingen carried out his furthest penetration into Uesugi territory when he captured Katsuravama, overlooking Zenköji from the north-west. He then attacked livama castle, but Kenshin led an army out from Zenköji, and Shingen withdrew.

#### The sieges of Moii, 1557-61

Moii castle changed hands several times between the Möri and the Ötomo. See the separate entry as a case study.

#### The siege of Terabe, 1558 Terabe was the first engagement in which Toku-

gawa levasu took part. The keeper, Suzuki Shigetery, had abandoned the Imagawa and passed to the service of Oda Nobunaga, Jevasu assaulted Terabe, and when Nobunaga sent a relieving force, he drove him off.

# The siege of Odaka, 1559

The provisioning of Odaka castle was an incident in the early career of Tokugawa Jevasu when he was still a vassal of Imagawa Yoshimoto, and consequently in arms against Oda Nobunaga. Odaka, one of the Imagawa fortresses, was hard-pressed and in need of supplies. Tokugawa

levasu launched a diversionary raid against a nearby fort, causing the Oda army to withdraw a sizeable proportion of their men from Odaka levasu thereupon led a pack horse unit into Odaka under the noses of the weakened besiegers.

#### The siege of Marune, 1560

Marune was a frontier fortress owned by Oda Nobunaga, It was captured by Tokugawa Ievasu as part of the Imagawa advance that led to the fateful battle of Okehazama. Ievasu made good use of concentrated arquebus fire and the commander Sakuma Morishige was killed by a bullet

# The battle of Okehazama, 1560

In June 1560 Imagawa Yoshimoto assembled an army of possibly 25,000 men for an advance on Kyōto, Oda Nobunaga, whose territory he was first to invade, sent out scouts to get an up-to-date picture of the situation. They reported that his horder fortresses of Washizu and Martine were destroyed and that the vast bulk of the Imagawa army, including the commander-in-chief himself, had chosen to rest at a place called Dengaku-hazama, a wooded gorge, where they were celebrating their victories in some style. It was territory Nobunaga knew well, and provided the perfect opportunity for a surprise attack.

Oda Nobunaga took up a position at Zenshőii. quite near to Imagawa's fort of Narumi, and directly in line with Dengaku-hazama. Here he rigged up a dummy army, and led 3000 men on a circular route through the wooded hills to drop down beside Dengaku-hazama from the north. It was a stifling hot day, and Yoshimoto's sentries were not alert. As Nobunaga's men drew silently near, a terrific thunderstorm began, which cloaked Nobunaga's final movements as Imagawa's men huddled under trees from the torrential rain. As the clouds blew away, the Oda troops poured into the gorge of Dengaku-hazama. The Imagawa troops were so unprepared for an attack that they fled in all directions, leaving Yoshimoto's curtained field beadquarters quite unprotected. Imagawa Yoshimoto had so little knowledge of what was going on that he drew the conclusion that a drunken fight had broken out among his men, and seeing an angry looking samurai running towards him, barked out an order for the man to return to his post. He only realised



The defeat of Imagawa Vashimata at the hattle of Okehazama in 1560 was one of the pivotal events of the Sengoku Period. He is shown here in an illustration from the Ehon Taikōki. Yoshimoto is seated on his camp-stool and gesticulating with his saihai (baton of command). He wears a fine do many suit of armour

that it was one of Nobunaga's men when the samurai aimed a spear-thrust at him, but by then it was too late. He drew his sword and cut through the shaft of the spear, but before he could do any more a second samurai grabbed him and lopped off his head. All but two senior officers of the Imagawa were killed. With this dramatic victory, Oda Nobunaga was raised to the front rank of military commanders.

The fourth battle of Kawanakajima, 1561 The fourth battle of Kawanakajima was fought between Uesugi Kenshin and Takeda Shingen, and is their most celebrated struggle. See the separate entry as a case study

# The first siege of Odawara, 1561

In 1561 Odawara was besieged by Uesugi Kenshin. The siege lasted two months, and Kenshin withdrew when Takeda Shingen threatened his territories.

# The battle of Moribe 1561

At the battle of Moribe, in Mino province, Oda Nobunaga decisively defeated an army of the Saitô family, killing many prominent generals.

### The battle of Asakura, 1562

The battle of Asakura in 1562 was a further engagement whereby Chosokabe Motochika gained control of Shikoku island. In this battle he defeated Motovama Shigetoki

#### The siege of Kaminoiö, 1562

With the help of ninja from Koga, Tokugawa Jevasu captured Kaminojo from its keeper Udono Nagamochi, and obtained useful hostages to use against the Imagawa, who were holding his own family.

The second siege of Musashi-Matsuvama, 1563 Matsuvama castle in Musashi province was held by Uesugi Norikatsu. It was besieged by an allied army of Höjö Ujiyasu and Takeda Shingen. The latter made good use of miners from Kai who burrowed into the hill on which the castle was huilt

# The second battle of Konodai, 1564

At the second battle of Konodai, Hojo Ujiyasu, son of the victor of the first battle in 1538, defeated Satomi Yoshihiro, son of the former loser.

# The second battle of Azukizaka 1564

At this second battle to be fought at Azukizaka. Tokugawa leyasu fought the local Ikkô-ikki. He took a prominent part in close personal combat. and was hit by several bullets which were slowed by his armour and lodged in his undergarments.

#### The siege of Inabayama, 1564

In 1564 Toyotomi Hideyoshi captured Inabayama castle from the Saito for Oda Nobunaga. As



Inabayama was built on top of a mountain, two attacks were launched, one that involved climbing, the other across the river. Horio Yoshiharu distinguished himself by opening the watergate to his attacking comrades. In 1565 Oda Nobunga made inabayama his headquarters and renamed it Gill.

# The fifth battle of Kawanakajima, 1564 Fakeda Shingen advanced on to the plain of

Takeda Shingen advanced on to the plain of Kawanakajima and set up camp on a hill called Shiozaki. Kenshin drew up his army opposite. across the Saigawa. There was some skirmishing but after 60 days both withdrew.

### The siege of Kuragano, 1565

Kuragano was a castle in Közüke province held by Kuragano Naoyuki. Having resisted an assault in 1561, in 1565 it fell to an attack by Takeda Shingen.

### The siege of Minowa, 1566

Minowa castle was defended fiercely by a retainer of the Uesugi called Nagano Narimasa, but when Narimasa died, fearful lest the Takeda should take advantage of this, the Nagano followers kept his death secret for as long as possible while his heir Narimori consolidated his position. The great swordsman Kamiizumi Hidetsuna took part in the defence of Minowa castle in 1566, with the young heir leading at the front. Attack after attack was repulsed, with the action almost totally confined to hand-to-hand combat. Finally Hidetsuna took the fight to the Takeda and sallied out of the castle in a bold surge. The Takeda became demoralised. but then fate took a hand, for in another sally by the defenders the young heir Narimori was cut down and killed, and this time there was no opporfunity to keep a commander's death a secret. The Takeda seized upon this huge psychological weapon. There was no leader, and the shattered defenders were forced to sue for peace.

### The battle of Mifunedai, 1567

This battle was fought in Kazusa province on 10 September 1567 between Ōta Ujisuke and Satomi Yoshihiro, Uiisuke was killed in action.

# The battle of Torisaka, 1568

Torisaka was a battle fought in Iyo province on Shikoku island between the combined forces of Kono Michinao and the Mori, whose help he had requested against Utsunomiya Toyotsuna. The Mori were under Kobayakawa Takakage and Kikkawa Motoharu, who won the hattle and reinstated Kono in his domains but he was to be defeated in 1580 by Chösokabe Motochika.

### The second battle of Tatarahama, 1568

The second battle of Tatarahama, in the vicinity of present-day Hakata, was fought between Môri Motonari's general, Kobayakawa Takakage, and Hetsugi Akitsura, general of Ötomo Sörin, The Mori were victorious. The location is the same as the battle of 1336.

#### The siege of Kakegawa, 1569

Tokugawa Jevasu besieged Imagawa Ujizane, son of the late Imagawa Yoshimoto, in Kakegawa castle. Negotiations began, and a deal was struck whereby Imagawa surrendered the castle in return for levasu's support in regaining his former termtory of Suruga.

### NINIA - FACT OR FICTION?

The ninia, otherwise shinobi no mono (men of secrecy) were the assassins, spies and secret agents of Japan at the time of the samurai. Legend has greatly embellished accounts of their activities, which, together with nonular movies and comic books, has created a myth of the ninia as the invincible and deadly secret warrior. Pictorial representations, which date from the early nineteenth century, have reinforced a visual image of them as superior warriors who dressed from head to foot in black, although this is likely to be no more than an artistic convention as there are no contemporary references to such costumes, and accounts of surprise attacks often mention the assailants dressing in such a way as to blend in with their victims. Nonetheless, reports of assassinations carried out by men who climbed into castles or fortified camps reinforce the authenticity of the profession, even if the 'superman' image may be readily discarded. The chronicle of the Hōiō family also makes reference to such men being use to cause confusion in an enemy camp before an attack. and spies were certainly used during the siege of Hara castle in 1638

# The siege of Tachibana, 1569

Mori Motopari besieged Tachibana castle in Chikuzen province, which was defended by Hetsugi Akitsura for the Otomo. Cannon were used in the engagement, at which the Mori were victorious

# The siege of Aki, 1569

With the defeat of the Motovama family. Chosokabe continued his conquest of Shikoku island by attacking and taking the castle of Aki. which was held by Aki Kunitora. The Aki garrison numbered 5000 men, while the Chosokahe army numbered 7200

### The second siege of Odawara, 1569

In 1569 Takeda Shingen moved against the Höjö. He failed to capture Hachigata castle from Höjö Uitkuni, and then failed to capture Takiyama from



Höjö Ujiteru. He finally laid siege to Odawara castle. The siege only lasted three days, at the end of which Takeda Shingen burned the town of Odawara and withdrew.

### The battle of Mimasetoge, 1569

Following his unsuccessful attempt at besieging Odawara, Takeda Shingen withdrew, but the brothers Höjö Ujiteru and Höjö Ujikuni lald wait for him and gave battle in the pass of Mimase Ohimasetogel. The Höjö army numbered 20,000 against the Takeda's 10,000. After a day of fighting the Takeda broke through and escaped back to Kofu. The Höjö lost 3200 men in their vain attempt to stoo the Takeda.

#### The siege of Kanbara, 1569

Kanbara castle was held for the Hōjō by Hōjō Tsunashige, a nephew of Hōjō Sōun, with a garrison of 1000 men. In 1569 it was besieged by a Takeda army under Shingen's heir, Takeda Katsuvori. On 6 December the castle fell.

#### The siege of Hanazawa, 1570

As part of his drive into Suruga province to make a clean sweep of the remnants of the Imagawa family, Takeda Shingen attacked Hanazawa castle, which was under the command of Ohara Sukenaga. Two senior Takeda retainers, Nagasaka Tsuruyasu and Hajikano Sa'emon, distinguished themselves during the attack. Ohara defended bravely for four days, at the end of which the castle fell.

# The siege of Fukazawa, 1571

In June 1570 Takeda Shingen invaded Suruga province for the sixth time and laid siege to Fukazawa castle, which was held for the Höjö by

## SINGLE COMBAT SEEN IN CONTEXT

The oft-repeated statement that to a samural an act of heroic individual combat was prized above all other accomplishments is not fully borne out in the literature. In the following extract from the Kövö Gunkan, the individual prowess of Takeda Katsuvori is noted, but his father Takeda Shingen then places it in the context of the overall aim of the current operation: the reduction of the castle of Takiyama during the Takeda's operation against the Hōjō in 1569

"At Takiyama Katsuvori was the one who fought desperately. The castle commander, Höjö Ujiteru cried, 'He is making us exert all our powers!' which he heard while in high spirits as he wielded a long-bladed kamavari and mercilessly ran the enemy through, and finally had a single combat with a warrior from the Höjö side. At that time Katsuvori was 24 years old. However, Shingen did not allow himself to be over-impressed and said, 'Well, that's good, but it is a trifling matter in view of the great undertaking required. This castle will not fall through one single action. Tenkvô. Shirn and the others who took chances were either killed in action or had a hard time of it."

Hôiô Tsunanari. During the first month of the lunar New Year the castle capitulated, and Höiö Tsunanari withdrew to Odawara.

### The siege of Chōkōji, 1570

Chokoii was a castle in Omi province captured from the Rokkaku (Sasaki) by Oda Nobunaga. Nobunaga entrusted its defence to Shibata Katsuie. but Rokkaku Yoshisuke attacked it and cut off the water supply. Faced with death from thirst, Shibata made the dramatic gesture of smashing the water storage jars in the castle, and then leading a sally out against the besiegers. So desperate were the Shihata troops that they carried all before them, and the siege was lifted.

# The siege of Kanagasaki, 1570

During Oda Nobunaga's advance into Echizen against the Asakura. Toyotomi Hideyoshi captured the fortress of Kanagasaki, which is now the city of Tsuruga. Nobunaga's army then fought a celebrated fighting retreat from Echizen.

### The battle of Anegawa, 1570

The hattle of (the) Anegawa was fought between Oda Nobunaga and the allied armies of Asai Nagamasa and Asakura Yoshikage, Nobunaga's troops had advanced against the Asai castle of Odani, and faced the allied forces across the Anegawa, while some troops laid siege to Yokovama castle. The battle was effectively a huge hand-to-hand mêlée in the middle of the shallow river, fought in blazing sun. At first it was almost as though there were two separate battles being fought; the Tokugawa against the Asakura, and the Oda upstream against the Asai. The Tokugawa made better progress, but a samurai of the Asai called Endo Kizaemon had resolved to take Nobunaga's head. and was only cut down, by a samurai called Takenaka Kvūsaku, when he was quite close to his target. Seeing Nobunaga's army in dire straits, the Tokugawa, who were by now relieved of the pressure from the Asakura, attacked Asai's right flank. Inaba Ittetsu, who up until then had been held in reserve, fell on to their left. Even the besiegers of Yokovama castle left their lines to join in. The result was a victory for the Oda forces.

#### The siege of Ishivama Honganii, 1570

Ishiyama Honganii was the 'fortified cathedral' of the Ikkô-ikki, established on the site of present-day Ösaka castle. Oda Nobupaga's first move against the Ishiyama Honganii was launched in August 1570. He left Cifu castle at the head of 30,000 troops, and ordered the building of a series of forts around the perimeter. The Ikkō-ikki made the first move, and on 12 September two of Nobunaga's fortresses, at Kawaguchi and Takadono, were attacked. The Oda army were stunned both by the ferocity of the surprise attack. and also by the novel use of controlled volley firing from 3000 matchlock men.

#### The hattle of Nunohevama, 1570

Nunobevama was a decisive action in the longrunning conflict between the Mori and the Amako. Kobayakawa Takakage and Kikkawa Motoharu led a Mori army of 15,000 men against Amako Katsuhisa with 6700 men under their great hero. Yamanaka Shikanosuke Yukimori. They met on 14 February 1570 at the foot of Nunobeyama, a mountain about 12 km south of Toda castle. The Amako were heavily defeated.

### The siege of Mount Hiei, 1571

The destruction of the monastic complex of Mount Hiei by Oda Nobunaga was such a one-sided affair that it hardly deserves to be called either a battle or a siege. The word 'massacre' is more appropriate. The assault began on 29 September 1571. Nobunaga first burned the town of Sakamoto at the foot of Mount Hiei, but most of the townspeople had taken refuge on the mountain. He took particular care to destroy the Hivoshi shrine of the kamı Sannö, the Mountain King, and then his 30,000 men were deployed in a vast ring around the mountain, and began to move steadily upwards, burning and shooting all that stood in their way, men, women and children. By nightfall the main temple of Enryakuii had gone up in flames, and many monks unable to resist had leapt into the fire. Next day Nobunaga sent his gunners out on a hunt for any who had escaped. The final casualty list probably topped 20,000, and was the end of the long history of the warrior-monks of the Tendai sect temples of Mount Hiei,

### The first siege of Nagashima, 1571

The reduction of the Ikkō-ikki's fortress of Nagashima took Oda Nobunaga three years of bitter campaigning. He appointed as commanders of the Nagashima force his trusted generals, Sakuma Nobumori and Shibata Katsuie, Nobunaga's army made camp on 16 May 1571 at Tsushima, to the north-east of Nagashima, which was divided from the complex by a particularly shallow, yet broad, river. An attack was planned on the area immediately to the west of Tsushima against the series of wajú (island communities protected by dikes against flooding), from where an attack could be launched on the fortified Ganshöii monastery.

Nobunaga's mounted samural began to ford towards the first wait, only to find that the river bottom was a deep sea of mud. The horses' legs quickly mired, and as the animals struggled, many threw off their heavily armoured riders, who were

#### THE USE OF IMPRESSED LABOUR IN A STEGE

Local people could be forced to work in a menial capacity for a besieging army, as the following extract from Muromachidono Monoaatari describes. This is impressed labour in a forceful manner, which includes destroying their own houses in preparation for the attack:

"Here from the inhabitants of Bingo province Yamada Hida no kami's force of 500 were paraded and set to work east and west and among these 200 were left who filled sandbags and smashed up the farmhouses in preparation for filling in one section of the moat .... " (Sasama 1968: 372).

met by a hail of arrows and bullets, causing severe casualties. As the survivors dragged themselves to the nearest dry land, they encountered ropes stretched between stakes, which further hindered their progress towards safety. As night fell, the dike was cut, rapidly flooding the low-lying land. catching the remaining samurai in an inrush of muddy water, and ending Nobunaga's first attack on Nagashima as an unqualified disaster. The general Shibata Katsuie was severely wounded, and no impression was made on the defences. As the Oda army withdrew, they burned several villages on the outskirts.

### The battle of Tonegawa, 1571

In 1571 Uesugi Kenshin entered Közuke province and attacked Takeda Shingen's satellite castle of Ishikura, Shingen responded, and both armies faced each other in a stand-off across the Tonegawa river. The opponents eventually disengaged.

# The battle of Kizakihara, 1572

The battle of Kızakihara in Kyushu came about when Itô Yoshisuke attacked an outpost of the Shimazu, Shimazu Yoshihiro responded in force. and inflicted a great defeat upon him.

# The siege of Iwamura, 1572

Takeda Shingen's 1572 campaign against the Oda and Tokugawa lands ended in the battle of Mikata ga Hara, Iwamura, one of Japan's great vamashiro (mountain castles) was under the control of Toyama Kageto, but the castle's axrual keeper was a child of seven called Gobomanu. When Kageto died of illness, the position of the castle became the object of the attentions of Akiyama Nobutomo, one of Takeda Shingen's Twenty-Four General's, who led an advance into Mino coincident with Minigen's drive into Toloni. Alayama negotiated without the control of the control of the control of the distribution of the control of th

### The siege of Futamata, 1572

Futamata was a Tokugawa possession in Totfoth province. It was situated on a cliff above the Tenru'qawa and obtained its water supply by lowering buckets into the river from within the safety of a wooden tower known as the well-tower. When Takeda Kastuyor Iladi size to it he lashed together large logs to make raffs, and floated these down the river as unmanned inssiles. After a while the force of these raffs intiting the supports garrison surrendered. Two months later the Takeda army pressed on past Futamata, heading for Hamantaus.

# The battle of Mikata ga Hara, 1572

The important battle of Mikata ga Hara came about as a result of a major drive south by Takeda Shingen against Tokugawa Ievasu's fortress of Hamamatsu. The Takeda army was drawn up on the high ground of Mikata ga Hara, to the north of Hamamatsu, where levasu advanced to meet them in pitched battle. The Kövö Gunkan gives Shingen's formation as györin, the fish-scale formation, one of the classic battle formations that supposedly entices an enemy to attack, levasu was heavily outnumbered by about three to one. The Köyö Gunkan gives levasu's total army as 11,000, of which 8000 were his own troops, and 3000 the reinforcements from Nobunaga. These he drew up in a line, with his own headquarters troops a little to the rear. On his left flank were three fine Mikawa generals: Matsudaira Jetada, Honda Tadakatsu and Ishikawa Kazumasa, plus Ogasawara Nagayoshi, On his right flank, leading down to the Magomegawa, he placed the three contingents supplied by Oda Nobunaga, with the



The reconstructed water tower of the castle of Futamata, from which the defenders lowered buckets into the river. It was destroyed by Takeda Katsuyorı in 1572 by the clever ploy of floating heavy rafts down the river to smash the supports.

trustworthy Mikawa general Sakai Tadatsugu on the extreme right.

The great strength of the Takeda army was its cavalry, who operated as mounted units supported by personal attendants. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, as the snow was beginning to fall, the front ranks of the Tokugawa opened fire on the Takeda samurai. The Takeda forward troops responded with great vigour. Naith Masatoya strakede Honda Tadakstast. Honda and the other Mikawa men withstood the assault well, but Taki-Noriude stood firm until he was killed and his division was overrun, leaving Sakai Tadatstagh indications was overrun, leaving Sakai Tadatstagh isolated on the wins. At this joint Shingen calimy

withdrew his forward units to rest and sent in the fresh troops under Obata and Takeda Kastuyori. Saigusa Moritomo led 50 horsemen in a lierce cavalry assault. It was getting dark, and seeing the Tokugawa troops reeling, Shingen ordered a general assault by the main body. Very soon the Tokugawa army was in full retreat.

Tokugawa Jevasu sent Ökubo Tadayo back to Saigadake, where the ground began to drop away down to Hamamatsu, there to plant levasu's personal golden fan standard as a rallving point for the troops. Jevasu himself was all for charging back into the Takeda ranks to assist his comrade Mizuno Tadashige, who was surrounded, but Natsume Yoshinobu rode out from the fortress to persuade his lord to withdraw. He tugged on levasu's bridle to bring his horse around, and struck it on the rump with his spear shaft, calling out to Jevasu's attendants to ride with their lord for the castle. Yoshinobu turned back to the Takeda and plunged into the fight to be killed. His courageous attempt at substitution allowed Jevasu to escape.

Naruse Masayoshi, Toyama Kosaku and Endo Ukon were three more samurai who sacrificed themselves for levasu during the desperate retreat. Amano Yasukage, who survived the action, kicked the bow out of a Takeda soldier's hands as he took aim at levasu, so the withdrawal must have been a closely fought action, fevasu himself nut an arrow through one Takeda man who ran at him with a spear. The rapid arrival of levasu at Hama matsu, with apparently only five men left, made it appear that defeat was certain, but levasu ordered the gates to be left open for their retreating comrades, and huge braziers to be lit to guide them home. To add to the confident air, Sakai Tadatsugu took a large war drum and beat it in the tower beside the gate. As levasu had predicted. when Yamagata Masakage and Baba Nobuharu, who led the Takeda advance to the castle, saw the open gates and the light and heard the drum, they immediately suspected a trick. The Takeda army camped for the night on the hattlefield near Saigadake, Ökubo Tadayo and Amano Yasukage gathered a volunteer force of sixteen arquebusiers and 100 other foot-soldiers and attacked the Takeda encampment. Here the plain of Mikata ga Hara is solit by a narrow canyon. Scores of Takeda samural and horses fell into this ravine, where the Tokugawa troops fired on them and cut them as they lay helpless. The Takeda withdrew the following morning, leaving Hamamatsu safe.

# The second siege of Nagashima, 1573

The campaign against the Nagashima Ikód-bki reopened in July 1573, and this time Oda Nobunaga took personal charge of the operations. The numbers of his army are not recorded, but we do know that he recruited heavily from like province. Covered by an advance from the west under Sakuma Nobumori and Hashiba (later Toyottom) Hideyoshi, Nobunaga sent his gunners on ahead along the man roads into Nagashima.



Sakai Talatssugu bangs the drum to guide the defeated Tokugawa army to safety within Hamamatsu casile after the battle of Mikata ga Hara. 1572. Rather than close the gates after his army retreated, Tokugawa layasu ordered for them to be left open and braziers lit to guide the troops to safety. The beating of the drum was a further detail in the successful psychological ploy. hoping that the volley fire would blast a way for him. Unfortunately for Nobunaga, as soon as his men were ready to fire, a fierce downpour occurred, and the rain soaked the matches and the pans, rendering nine out of every ten arquebuses temporarily disabled. The Ikko-ikki launched an immediate counter-attack for which the forward matchlockmen were ill prepared. They began to fall back, taking the ise troops with them, and as the lkkö-ikki pressed forward, the rain stopped, enabling them to employ their own matchlocks. The defenders advanced perilously close to Nobunaga himself, who was in the thick of the fighting astride a horse. One bullet narrowly missed his ear, and another felled one of his retainers through the armpit. For the second time in two years, the Oda army withdrew. The western force had been more successful, with Takigawa Kazumasu taking Yata castle (the present-day Kuwana) which was the most southerly point of the Nagashima complex, but he, too, was forced to withdraw by a counterattack.

# The siege of Noda, 1573

The success of Mikata ga Hara against the Tokugawa encouraged Takeda Shingen to make a further advance into Mikawa province the following year. This time he laid siege to Noda castle (present day Shinshiro) on the Toyokawa river, commanded by Suganuma Sadamichi, He had with him his kanabori-shū (miners' corps) who tunnelled into the castle most and drained it, thus depriving the garrison of their drinking water along with their defence. While contemplating the imminent surrender of the castle. Shingen was taken by the sound of a flute being played by one of the garrison, and moved closer to hear it. A vigilant sniper on the castle walls saw him and shot him through the head. The siege was lifted and Takeda Shingen died soon afterwards, although his death was kept secret for two years.

### The siege of Hikida, 1573

While going to the relief of Asai Nagamasa in Odani castle. Asakura Yoshikage was attacked by Oda Nobunaga, so entered Hikida castle for security. On 10 August the castle fell, and he retreated back to Echizen province.

# The siege of Odani, 1573

With the successful siege of Odani castle in 1573. Oda Nobunaga completed his triumph over the Asai family. Seeing all was lost, Asai Nagamasa entrusted his family to Oda Nobunaga (who was his brother-in-law) and committed suicide.

### The siege of Ichijo ga dani, 1573

Asakura Yoshikage suffered the same fate as his former comrade-in-arms Asai Nagamasa when Oda Nobunaga defeated him in his castle of Ichijo ga dani in 1573.

### The first siege of Itami, 1574

In Settsu province in 1574 Oda Nobunaga captured Itami castle from the daimyo of the same name by digging a long tunnel from outside the walls to a spot near to the castle's keep.

### The first siege of Takateniin, 1574

Takatenjin, held for the Tokugawa by Ogasawara Nagatada, was besieged and captured by Takeda Katsuvori in 1574.

### The third siege of Nagashima, 1574

Nobunaga attacked Nagashima for a third time in 1574, but he now had naval support from Kuki Yoshitaka, who took the fight by slup close to the Ikkō-ikki fortifications in a way that had never proved possible before. Kuki's fleet kept up a rolling bombardment of the Nagashima defences from close on shore, concentrating on the wooden watchtowers with cannonhalls and fire arrows. The presence of the ships also served to cut off the garrison from supplies and from any possible relieving force, and, more crucially, allowed Nobunaga's land-based troops to take most of the Ikkō-ikki's outlying forts. Two in particular, Nakae and Yanagashima, enabled Nobunaga to control access from the western. Ise side, for the first time.

Supported by Kuki, a land-based army carried out a three pronged attack from the north. Gradually the defenders were forced back, though with enormous resistance, and were squeezed down into the small area of the island on which stood the fortified Ganshöii and Nagashima castles with almost no hope of relief. By the end of August 1574 they were slowly starving to death, Instead of accepting surrender, Nobunaga commenced the

#### THE PUNISHMENT OF REBELS

If a summar rebuled against his lord he could expect no mercy. The documents of the trikl family of symbol could be a least two mataness where the dammo, in cach case bhuman 20 sobshibro, is quite unless in his determination to crush the rebellion quickly. The first occurs as the Shimazu contingent is about to lose of the Control of

"At that time, one Umekita Kunikane, starting after Lord Yoshihiro for Korea, moured ships at Herado in Hizor, and perhaps fearing puisishment for his tardiness, suddenly changed his nitud and began a rebellion, falsely claiming that he pursued the Talshu's order. There were Tajiri Arabyōe and many other who joined in the plot. Unexpectedly Shigekage also followed Umekita's forces and invaded Higo. The Talshu (Shimazu'i) Voshihasa, who was at Nagoya, hearing this event at once reported it; and receiving a strict command, went down to the province with Hosokawa Yusai and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places, Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, Killed Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places, Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, Killed Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places, Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, Killed and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places, Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, Killed and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places, Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, Killed and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places. Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, Killed and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places. Shigetoki, obeying a Strict order, Killed and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places. Shigetoki, obeying a Strict order, Killed and Shigekage and his 75 men were killed at several places. Shigekage his factors, Anakawa, 1922; 3031.

Note how Iniki-in Shugetoki is required to put to death certain of his relatives, all of whom were probably innocent of any crime, but tainted by association. In 1599, when the rest of Japan appeared to be at peace, Iniki-in Shigetoki was commussioned to quell another rebellion. The account is a vivid snapshor of stegework, followed by a long list there abbreviated of personal exploits, in which the achievant referred to as challen are not foreotter:

"In the spring of 1599 the Lord (Shimazou Toddssune punished with death the traitorous vassal (Julin Tadamune Logan at the lord's residence at lyalmin. Köggin's delets son Tadazane, who was at the fortress of Shonal, thoga, hearing that his father had been killed, erected twelve forts, and recealing his rebellious intentions, oxided this warmons to defend them, wielding wicked power. When the lord therefore hastened back to the prowince to chastise him, be granted to Shigetoki, greatly to his honour, the office of jin of Takacaki and Tadashem, when the lord's aracked the Vanada fortress on 13 August 1599 Shigetoki sass stationed at Kasuniner; at the signalled boar he vide with mada fortress on 15 August 1599 Shigetoki sass stationed at Kasuniner; at the signalled boar he vide with mada fortress woulding down arrows and stone messless like showers and booming gins like peaks of thunder, But they defined it all, and, scaling up to the fortress, cut down all the defenders till it was captured, of Kingetoki's forces, Togo Juroza'enno was owndeder, likid in Motostake, Elhalara Kichimon, Nagae Kunan, Takagi Yaza'emon, Kizaki Shuncaburd. and Tosuke the chigen took enemy's heads... Maroki, and Ichibbye, these two being chighen, fell flighting? (Nasakawa 1925; 394)

erection of a very tall wooden palisade which was anchored on the forts of Nakae and Yanagashima, and which physically isolated the kbo-kik from the gaze of the outside world. Approximately 20,000 people were now crammed into the inner outposts. Unseen by them, Nobunaga began to pile a mountain of dry brushwood against the palisade, and set light to the massive pyre. Burning brands jumped the small gaps of water, and soon the whole of the Nagashima complex was ablaze. All 20,000 inhabitants of the kiko-kik fortress were burned to death before any could escape to be cut down.

### The siege of Yoshida, 1575

In 1575 Takeda Katsuyori raided Mikawa province and laad sege to Yoshada castle the sie of which is now withun Toyohashi cityl, which was under the command of Sakai Tadatsugu with 1000 men. Tokugawa [eyasu, however, had anticipated Katsuyori's move and reinforced the garrison with an extra 5000 men. Fierce hand-to-hand spear fighting took place outside the walls of Yoshida, but as the Tokugawa looked unlikely to leave the walls for a pithede battle, the frustrated Takeda Katsuyori abandoned the siege and headed northwards, where he laid siege to Nagashino.



A group of Ikkö-Ikki warriors is shown here displaying a Buddhisi banner. These were the men who defied Oda Nobunaga for eleven years from their fortresses of Nagashima and Ishiyama Honganji.

## The siege of Nagashino, 1575

Nagashino was a castle in Mikawa province on a weil-defended bulf at the confluence of the Taksgawa and Onogawa rivers. It was commanded by Okudaira Sadamasa, who held out against the Takeda in a classoc siege. The besergers tried attacks by river, through mining, and with flerce hand to hand assults. Eventually Torti Sune'emon brought word to Tokugawa leysus that relief was needed, and an army moved to his assistance.

### The battle of Nagashino, 1575

The celebrated battle of Nagashino was fought between the army of Oda Nobunaga, who came to raise the siege of Nagashino castle, and the army of Takeda Katsuyori, son of the late Shingen, who was attacking it. The Takeda army that laid siege

to Nagashino castle consisted of 15,000 men, of whom 12,000 took part in the subsequent battle. They were therefore well outnumbered by the Oda/Tokugawa force of 38,000 who advanced to meet them, and whose positions looked across the plain of Shadarahara towards the castle. About 100 metres in front flowed the tilter Rengoawa, which acted as a forward defence for the positions Oda Nobunaga had chosen. Although sluggish and shallow, it had some steep banks, which would slow down the horsemen.

Oda Nobunaga also had the advantage of a unit of 3000 matchlockmen. but realised that they would need some form of physical protection, so his army built a palisade half-way between the forested edge of the hills and the river. It was a loose fence of stakes, staggered over three afternate layers, and with many gaps to allow a counter-attack. The forests of the left flank provided some protection from encirclement, and Nobunaga decided to risk his right wing rather than weaken the whole line by spreading his about 2100 meters. Nobunaga's plan was for the matchlockmen to fire rotating volleys as the Takeda cavalty autorocked.

The Takeda right wing was under Anayama Nobukini with Baba Nobuham sa vanguard. The total number was 3036. The centre companies were under Takeda Nobukado (Commander with Natio Masatoyo (Vanguard), total 3459. On the left wing was Takeda Nobukoyo (Commander) with Yamagata Masakage (Vanguard), total 3726. A centre company, to the rear, was Takeda Kaissyori's headquarters unit, which totalled

For the majority of the Takeda troops, their first sight of the enemy came when they moved out of the woods to the east of Sudiarahara. From this point it was 200 metres at its narrowest to the Odd/Tokugawa line, and at its broadest only 400 metres. There were three matchlockmen in the Odd inest for every four Takeda mounted samural charging at them. Although he was aware of the number of guns that Oda Nobungag possessed, two factors encouraged Takeda Katsuyori. The first was the heavy rain of the night before, which was likely to have rendered the matchlocks unusable. The second was the great speed of the

#### THE ROLE OF THE SCOUTS

The Höjö Godatki describes scouts being using during Höjö Ujmao's campaign against Satake Yoshinobu in 1575.

Ujimao selected tive horsemen from among his hatamoto and made them scouts. They rode off towards the border where the enemy flags were flying. Among them were two horsemen, Yamakami Sarfemonnogo and Haga Hisbijor, who were familiar with the area. They rode hard to one cho from the boundary and rode up to a high place. Then they saw the enemy's advanced skirmishers who rose up the boundary and rode up to a high place. Then they saw the enemy's advanced skirmishers who rose up the boundary and rode up to a high place. Then they saw the enemy's advanced skirmishers who rose up the horse of Sam'emonnojô, but in spite of being in enemy territory he turned his horse to the north and support it up to make a remarkalite escape and rode hard for the flat plants, being has dead cross the grass, and while in flight he took one head. With many enemy in pursuit, being a strong horseman he rode up a large mountain, descended from its top, and rode on into friendly tertiory. Hisbjird was surrounded by many enemys, and was aimost certain to fall, having roden into the area of the enemy samp tome horsemen set out from within the enemy camp from front and rear and from left and right, to capture him or cut him down. It was likely that he would be killed to the struck his whip on the stirrups two or three times, and slithough his vice could be heard, several times he almost disappeared from skitch finals he rode into the large river and made his horse swin, and arrived at the far bank.

The account concludes with Hōjo Ujinao praising the two men, retelling their exploits, and sultable rewarding them. There is a nuce touch in that the author also refers to the bravery of the samura's horses as being in no wit inferior to that of their riders.

Takeda charge. As they had only 200 metres to cover, it was probable that there would be some casualties from bullets, but not enough to break the momentum of the charge. The horsemen would then be upon the hopeless ashigaru as they tried to reload, to be followed within seconds by the Takeda foot-soldiers.

At 6.00 a.m. on 28 June 1575, Takeda Katsuyori ordered the advance. The three vanguards of the Takeda cavalry under Yamagata, Naitō and Baba swept down from the hills on to the narrow fields. Horses and men carefully negotiated the shallow river bed, to pick up speed again as they mounted the far bank. At this point, with the horsemen within 50 metres of the fence, the volley firing began. All along the line his horsemen in the vanguards, and the attendant foot-soldiers who had advanced with them, were falling in heaps, The ashigaru spearmen, with their massive 5.6metre shafted spears, thrust their weapons up at any horseman who had been missed by the volley and approached the fence. The samurai, with their shorter spears, would have taken the fight to the Takeda, and there are enough accounts of single combat in the chronucles to paint a picture of a battle that consisted of innumerable small group and individual actions. The battle lasted until midaftermoon, when the Takeda began to retreat and were pursued. Takeda Katsuyori left behind him on the battlefield 10,000 dead, a casualty rate of 67 per cent. Out of 97 named samurai leaders of the Takeda at Nagashina, 54 were killed and two badly wounded. Eight of the veteran "Twenty-Four General of the Takeda ware killed.

# The battle of Shimantogawa, 1575

At this battle Chōsokabe Motochika increased his hold on Shikoku island by defeating the Ichijō family.

### The siege of Ishiyama Honganji, 1576

By 1576 the main building of the likko-ikki headquarters of Ishiyama Honganji had grown into the centre of a complex ring of 51 outposts, well supported by organised firearms squads. In April Nobunaga made a land based attack on the Ishiyama Honganji with a force of 3000 men under the command of Araki Muneshige and Akechi Mitsubide. This may have been more of an exercise in testing the defenders' mettle, because 15,000 were pitted against him, and Nobunaga was forced to withdraw.

#### The battle of Mitsuii, 1576

In May Oda Nobunga carried out another attack on the Ishlyama Honganji Known as the batte of Mitsuji. Nobunaga was personally involved in the hand-to-hand combat, and led a contingent of ashigaru in a sally that drove the Ikkô-ikki back to one of their inner gates. Nobunaga received a bullet wound in his Ige before he withdrew.

#### The first battle of Kizugawaguchi, 1576

In April 1576 Nobunaga attempted to use his admiral Kuki Yoshitaka to blockade the sea route against Móri, causing the first of two sea battles to be fought at the mouth of the Kizu. Môri's superi ority won the day, and the supplies got through, with Kuki's fleet heme brushed off easily

### The siege of Shikizan, 1577

At Shikizan, Matsunaga Hisahide and his son Kojirō were defeated by Oda Nobutada and Tsutsui Junkei and committed suicide.

### The siege of Nanao, 1577

Namao castle in Noto province was a possession of Hatakeyama Yoshitaka. It was first attacked by Ucsuga Kenshin in 1576. In 1577 Kenshin reduced the outlying fortresses that supported Namao, and began a new siege. The castle held out until autumn, by which time a message requesting help had been sent to Odd Nobunaga. Before Nobunaga was able to respond, the castle fell, purify from of Hatakeyama Yoshitaka, but also through a tration one provided the castles to Kenshina.

### The battle of Tedorigawa, 1577

Oda Nobunaga moved to the relief of Nanao castle by invading Kaga province. Useugi Kenshin went into Kaga to meet him and based himself and 30,000 troops at the castle of Matsutó. Nobunaga had 18,000 men within a total army of about 50,000, including some of his most famous generals. Shlbata Katsule, Akechi Mitsuhled. Tovotomi Hidevoshi, Maeda Toshue. Takigawa

Kazumasu, Niwa Nagahide and Sasa Narimasa. The armies met across the Tederigawa, Kenshin anticipated that Nobunaga would try to move across the river by might for a dawn attack on Matsuto. He therefore detached a small decoy force in sight of Nobunaga and mowed it up towards a small castle he had built at the head of the river. This gave Nobunaga the impression that Kenshin had spit his forces, and encouraged Nobunaga to make a frontal assault straight arross the triver. The result had been supported to the straight arross the triver. The result kenshin 5 force, in these Gonerad units with a multibody in reserves, absorbed Nobunaga's advance. The main body then moved in and defeated Nobunaga's arms.

### The second battle of Kizugawaguchi, 1578

At this second battle of Kzugawaguchu, the Mori fleet was outcassed. Nobunaga's specially built extra-large battleships took the fight to them, and he had the satisfaction of seeing arrows and musket balls bouncing off them. The engagement developed into hand-to-hand fighting as the ships came alongside and boarding parties fought one another. Several Mori vessels were burned or sunk, but one of Nobunaga's 'ton ships' was lost when it was boarded and simply capsuch.

### The siege of the Ishiyama Honganji, 1576-80

The ferocity of the defence of the Ishiyama Hongania forced Nobunaga to revise his factics. and he changed his immediate aim to that of reducing the outposts of the Ishiyama Honganii. thus progressively isolating the centre. In a series of campaigns he neutralised the (kkö-ikki outpost of Saiga in Kii province to the south, which had been able to support the fortress from the sea and had been present at Nagashima. For good measure he sent Toyotomi Hidevoshi against the other hornets' nest of warrior-monks at Negoroii in Kii province, now much weakened with the defeat of Nagashima. Negoroji was not defeated in this attack, but was sufficiently contained so as not to cause much of a threat to Nobunaga's immediate plans. With outside forces reduced to a minimum, Nobunaga began a four-year-long siege of the Ishiyama Honganii.

The battles of Kizugawaguchi had helped to isolate the Ishiyama Honganii, and it soon



became clear to the defenders that there were no other Ikkô sympathisers left to come and join them, so the fanatics of the Ishiyama Honganji prepared to face Nobungaśi Falnai assault. The garrison were under the spirited command of a certain Shmothama Nakayuki, sho was a priest of the Ikkô-Ikki as well as a samurai general. It had now become clear that their support was coming only from within their own sectarian ranks. The Mori clan were unwilling to engage in ranks. The Mori clan were unwilling to engage in Shiyama Honganji became progressively weak, ened. The final straw for the Mori was the loss of their strategic castle of Misk in 1580. thus depriving them of a convenient base for supporting the Ishiyama Honganii.

Shimotsuma directed his operations as Nobunaga's armies whittled at the outer lines of his defences. Every day the attacks continued, using up the fortrees's precious ammunition supply. Very soon Shimotsuma's food supplies also began to dry up, and Mori and his fleet could not move from port to aid them. A conference was held between the abbot Kosa and his colleagues, and the fortrees surrendered a few weeks later. The actual surrender terms, which were bloodless, were accepted by Kosa's soon, and eleven years of bitter flighting eventually came to an end in August 1500.

### The siege of Kozuki, 1578

Toyotomi Hidevoshi captured Kozuki castle in Harima province in 1577, and entrusted it to Amako Katsuhisa. In 1578 it was attacked by the Amako's old rivals the Mori, under Mori Terumoto. by an army led by Kobayakawa Takakage and Kikkawa Motoharu. When the castle fell. Amako Katsuhisa committed hara-kırı. The hero Yamanaka Shikanosuke Yukimori was captured and executed.

#### The siege of Otate, 1578

Following the sudden death of Uesugi Kenshin, his adopted son Uesugi Kagetora, who was the seventh son of Höjö Ujiyasu, and his nephew Uesugi Kagekatsu came to blows over their rights to Kenshin's inheritance, which Kenshin had decided to divide between the two of them. Kagekatsu occupied Kasugayama castle, while Kagetora was based on Ötate castle. On 17 March 1578 Kagekatsu besieged Kagetora. The fall of the castle effectively ended Kagetora's claim, and the following year he committed suicide.

#### The battle of Mimigawa, 1578

This victory by the Shimazu, described elsewhere as a case study, effectively stifled the ambitions of the Ōtomo family.

### The siege of Miki, 1578-80

Miki was an important fortress of the Mori family. It was besieged and taken by Toyotomi Hideyoshi from Bessho Nagaharu.

# The second siege of Itami, 1579

Itami had been held on Nobunaga's behalf by Araki Murashige since its capture in 1574, Being accused of sympathies towards the Mori. Murashige shut himself up in his castle and withstood a siege of one year, during which Hideyoshi filled in Itami's moat. Murashige escaped to live a life of obscurity.

#### The battle of Mimagmote, 1579

In 1579 Chôsokabe Motochika's retainer Kumu Yorinobu led 7000 men into Ivo province on Shikoku island and attacked Doi Kiyonaga, Doi crossed the Mimaomote river to meet him in a fierce battle on 21 May 1579. Yorinobu was defeated and killed

### The siege of Yagami (Yakami), 1579

Charged with the pacification of Tamba province. Akechi Mitsuhide laid siege to Yagami castle in 1578. In early 1579, to increase the pressure on the parrison. Mitsuhide took hostage the mother of the castellan, Hatano Hideharu, Hideharu surrendered, and was taken to Oda Nohunaga, who had him put to death. The surviving vassals of the Hatano took their revenge on this treachery by capturing Mitsuhide's mother in turn and executing her.

### The siege of Maruyama, 1579

Maruvama was a castle in Iga province, which Oda Nobunaga ordered to be renovated as part of his ongoing plan to conquer the province. The work was undertaken by Takigawa Kazumasu, but the castle was attacked by men of Iga before it was completed. Oda Nobuo invaded Iga in hasty revenge, but was driven off in disgrace.

# The battle of Omosu, 1580

Omosu provides one of the few examples of a sea battle in samural history. It was fought off the coast of the Izu peninsula between the navies of Hōiō Uiimasa and Takeda Katsuvori, while the land armies of both families advanced towards each other

#### The battle of Kanazawa Gobo, 1580

In 1580 the army of Shibata Katsuje, which included the general Sakuma Morimasa, advanced into Kaga province and fought the Kaga Ikkó-ikki at Kanazawa Gobo.

### The siege of Hijivama, 1581 Hijiyama, which lay on the site of present-day

lga-lleno, was the pivot of the defence of lga province during Oda Nobunaga's invasion of 1581. It was desperately defended until being burned to the ground. For more details see the separate essay.

### The battle of Arakawa, 1581

The territories of Oda Nobunaga and Uesugi Kagekatsu met in Etchû province. On Kagekatsu's front line was Matsukura castle under Kawada Nagavori, while on Nobunaga's front line lay Toyama castle, held by Sasa Narimasa. In March 1581 Nagayori led an army of 2500 men into battle at Arakawa against Sasa Narimasa's 3000. Sasa Narimasa was victorious, and received Etchû as his fief

### The second siege of Takatenjin, 1581

Oda Nobunaga's long campaign to defeat Takeda Katsuyori was greatly helped by the fall of the Takeda outpost of Takatenjin in 1581, which was under the command of Okabe Naganori. The siege began in 1580 and lasted until 22 March 1581, when it finished with the deaths of 860 men.

#### The siege of Tottori, 1581

The siege of Tottori castle is an example of the successful completion of a siege by starvation. Tottori was defended against Toyotom Hideyoshi by Kikkawa Tsuneie for 200 days, until he committed suicide to save his men, who were almost reduced to cannibilism.

# The battle of Temmokuzan, 1582

Temmokuzan, otherwise known as the battle of Torilbata, was the last stand of Tadeda Katsuyon ras the combined forces of Oda Nobunaga and Tokugawa lesyau closed in on him. Takeda Katsuyori had burned his castle of Shinpujó and filed to the mountains, only to find the gates of Iwadono, held by his old retainer Oyamada Nobushige, closed in his face. While a handful of retainers held off the enemy, Takeda Katsuyori committed suicine.

The tragic end to the 200-day siege of Tottori castle is shown here in this detail from the Ehon Toyotomi Kunköki. Kikkawa Tsunew's men are reduced to eating horseflesh and are contemplating cannibalism.

# The siege of Takato, 1582

After the death of Takeda Katsuyori, Nishma Morinobu, the late Shingen's fifth son, fortified himself in the castle of Takatō. Oda Nobutada sent a priest to him to mediate, but Nishina cut off the unfortunate man's nose and ears and sent him back. When the attack was launched, Nishina was killed.

#### The siege of Uzu, 1582

The siege of Uzu arose from the conflict between conflict between cold A roburnags and Usungi Kagelastus mentioned above in connection with the battle of Arakawa (1581). The Old possessions were under threat from the Erchö Ikkö-Ikki, Using Toyama castle as a base, Shibata Kastusi and Saas Natisui and Saas Natis

#### The siege of the Honnöii, 1582

Although brief, Akech Mitsuhide's mght attack on the Honnoiji temple in Nyōin owa a decisive accion in Japanese history, for 11 succeeded in bringing about the death of Oda Nobunaga. Nobunaga was accompanied only by his personal bodyguard, and committed suicide as the temple blazed around him.

### The siege of Takamatsu, 1582

Takamatsu in Bitchů province was one of the key fortresses owned by the Môri. Toyotomi Hideyoshi



# THE SIEGE OF HIJIYAMA, 1581

The siege of Hijiyama in 1581 provides an excellent eve-witness account of an attack on a castle. followed by a counter-attack, and the final destruction of the fortress by fire. It is from the Iran-ki. Gamo Ulisato began the attack by hurning the villages which are now the outlying suburbs of Ueno. Tsutsui Junkei, who had entered from the west, turned north and joined him to lay siege. As in many other castle attacks, the main gate was a focus for assault:

"The main gate of Hijiyama, which lay on the middle road of the slope, had been repaired, and the beautiful railings polished ... there were two Kongorikishi (statues of heavenly guardians) on either side of the gate ... at this great gate the generals waited. The forces came from all the villages... Some defended the fort, others prepared an ambush half-way up the slope. One thousand men had gathered. At the Hour of the Snake on the 27th day of the 9th month, both sides gave their war-cry. On the enemy side, Gamō, Tsutsui, Wakızaka and Yamaoka were the generals. All the soldiers came in the pitch darkness, then suddenly pushed forward and climbed up. The samurai of the fortress skilfully obstructed them, regardless of death. They attacked up towards the castle, and the castle soldiers met them in defence. Then the troops in ambush attacked suddenly from half-way up the slope, as the strong army continued to push up the slope. The troops in ambush pushed into them and ran round killing... They shot and thrust, and threw great rocks and large trees from the edge of the ditch. They attacked them with guns fired from loopholes from a distance. The enemy who managed to approach were greatly disconcerted, and many were exhausted, The majority were wounded, and many were lying on the ground. Under these circumstances the enemy who came up the mountain, were chased away and fell. The great army virtually collapsed. Those from within the castle ran around killing, and Gamô and Tsutsui, riding swift horses, hurried up the mountain, lest the rebellious fellows slaughtered everyone under their command. The soldiers were fighting on all the mountain paths, and the castle soldiers formed up in a line. More and more they were increasing their strength from up on the mountain, waiting for the enemy to advance to them, so they blew the conch and heat the big drum while both sides gave their war-cry."

Following this tremendous effort, which drove back both besieging armies, the garrison held a council of war, at which it was decided to target the enemy general:

"Let us risk a night attack on Nagaokavama and take Junkei's head, which will be amazing to the eyes of the enemy and will add to the glory of the province. If we destroy the vanguard the remnants of the enemy must be defeated in battle...' Eleven generals heard this, and expressed feelings of joy at the extent of this ingenuity. They discussed the division of labour, and decided on the number of men for the night attack and the order for front and rear. The army was divided into three directions of attack. On the First day of the Tenth month, at the Hour of the Rat, at a

laid siege to it, and diverted a river by dikes to flood the castle. It was during the siege that Hideyoshi Jearned of the death of Oda Nobunaga. so surrender terms were quickly arranged with the Mori, and included the suicide of the castle commander, Shimizu Muneharu, who committed suicide in a boat on the artificial lake, in full view of both sides.

### The battle of Yamazaki, 1582

With the battle of Yamazaki, Toyotomi Hideyoshi avenged Nobunaga and crushed the aspirations of

Akechi Mitsuhide. See the separate entry as a case study

### The battle of Lichide-bama 1582

Following their defeat at Yamazaki, the retreating Akechi army were pursued to Uchide-hama.

### The battle of Kanagawa, 1582

When Oda Nobunaga was murdered, the Hojo family took advantage of the situation and launched an attack on Nobunaga's follower Takigawa Kazumasu, who had received territories

signal, several pine torches were lit, and they ran forward with the wilfulness of snakes. They advanced from three directions, and their war-cry shook the heavens as they cut their way in. The Tsutsui army realised it was a night attack as arrows came from all directions, from up and down. They raised an uproar like a kettle coming to the boil, and as might be expected, in the army many otherwise experienced and brave soldiers had no time to put their armour on and tie it round their waists. They grabbed swords and spears, went down in haste and stood there to fight desperately, combating incessantly. For everyone it was like the month when the gods are away at Izumo shrine. They could not decide whether to surrender or not and they shed the occasional tear. Then the floating clouds suddenly lifted, and an intense mountain wind quickly extinguished many of the pine torches, so ally and enemy alike went astray on the dark paths. They could not distinguish between friend and foe in directing their arrows, so the samurai of the province made their way by using passwords. while the enemy furiously killed each other by mistake under these confusing circumstances. "

But samurai heroism could not keep the enemy at bay for long. Food was running low. The narrator of the Iranki describes how Nobuo's soldiers surrounded the mountain, and 30,000 troops raised their war-cry as they prepared for the final assault on Hillyama.

"I myself thought of flight. As for the great army of the enemy, I knew it as if in a dream, the generals of the Tsuge route, Niwa and Takigawa were waiting for each other, and many tens of thousands of soldiers were gathered to front and reer and to rigid and left... On top of the mountain there was allence. They did not give a warcry, More and more their colour foded. The tide of war was moving to the enemy samural. They took great rocks and large trees carefully, and prepared for an attack. They defended with every mann... They partitled every temple hall... Each man who remained had the appearance of a wooden Butdish.

But the final attack on Hijiyama was not to be decided by spear, gun and sword alone. The weather was dry, and a strong wind blowing across the completely surrounded mountain made conditions ideal for the most deadly weapon in the sampural's armoury:

"They set fire to all the temples over a wide area. This time there was no rain to be blown by the wind. The flames blazed and spread as a sign to the whole world. Some fires were extinguished, but it was many months before the black ashes died away. After this the Tsutsui army set fire to the precincts of the Hachiman shrine. It reached many ceremony halls, two-storeyed gates, offering halls, and additional shrines, toris, treasure houses and kagura places that had amassed honour over the years, every hall which had been polished ... thousands of eaves, shrine halls and temples, places of prayer, Shinto priests and people, all of a sudden were swept away in a cloud of fire ... although it was a very dark night it seemed to be daylight, as though night and day had exchanged places before the dawn' (Momochi 1897 (6): 7). Thus fell the castle of Hijiyama.

nearby following the defeat of Takeda Katsuyori. They fought a battle at Kanagawa, on the border between Kôzuke and Musashi provinces. Takigawa commanded 18,000 men, while the Hōjō had 55,000. Takigawa was defeated and retired to Nagashima.

# The battle of Nakatomigawa, 1582

This battle was fought on Shikoku island between Chosokabe Motochika and Sogo Masayasu. Chosokabe commanded 23,000 men against his rival's 5000. On 27 August 1582 they met across the banks of the Nakatomigawa. At noon on the following day, the Chōsokabe launched 20,000 of their troops into the river, who engaged the Sogo in fierce hand-to-hand fighting. The Sogo were driven back, losing 800 dead, while the Chōsokabe suffered casualties of about 600 men.

#### The battle of Hikita, 1583

The battle of Hikita was fought between Sengoku Hidehisa and Chösokabe Motochika, who defeated him. Hikita was a further stage in the Chösokabe's rise to command all of Shikoku island.

#### The battle of Shizugatake, 1583

Oda Nobunaga's former general Shibata Katsuie was one of the main opponents to a takeover of Nobunaga's territories by Toyotomi Hidevoshi following Nobunaga's murder. To guard against Shibata Katsuie's advance, Hidevoshi constructed a series of forts on the mountain neaks at Lake Biwa's northern tip. The farthest north of the chain was Iwasaki-vama, and next to it was Ōiwa, while a few kilometres south was Tagami. On one of the highest peaks Shizugatake was held for Toyotomi Hideyoshi by his general Nakagawa Kiyohide. Shibata Katsuie had sent his nephew Sakuma Morimasa on into Ömi to capture these frontier forts, Iwasaki-yama fell, and its commander withdrew to Tagami, Sakuma then besieged Shizugatake, which held out in spite of the death of its commander Nakagawa Kivohide. Hideyoshi acted quickly, and set off from Ogaki with as large a mounted force as he could muster, to cross the 80 km to Shizugatake.

Morimasa knew that Hideyoshi had made camp at Ögaki in order to take Gifu, and calculated, not unreasonably, that it would take at least three days to move his 20,000 men to Shizugatake, by which time the castle would have fallen. As a result he chose to disobey Shibata's orders to withdraw to Öiwa, But Hidevoshi's army arrived in less than one day. His army linked up with the defenders of Tagami, while Sakuma Morimasa hurriedly changed his plans, and ordered his men to abandon their siege lines and take up a defensive position against Hidevoshi's attack.

Leading Hideyoshi's vanguard was Katō Kivomasa, eager to take part in his first major encounter. He confronted one of Sakuma's most experienced generals. Another who distinguished himself at Shizugatake was Fukushima Masanori. Masanori attacked a prominent samurai called Haigo Gozaemon and ran him through with his spear, the spear point entering Haigo's armpit and penetrating through to his stomach. Five more samural earned great honour for themselves at the battle of Shizugatake, and together with Katō Kiyomasa and Fukushima Masanori became known as the shichi hon-vari, or the 'Seven Spears' of Shizugatake. The others were Katō Yoshiaki. Wakizaka Yasuharu, Hirano Nagayasu, Katagiri Katsumoto and Kasuva Takenori. One other young



Toyotomi Hidevoshi blows the conch shell to start the battle of Shizuqatake in 1583. In the forearound stands the young Fukushima Masanori. who was to make a name for himself as one of the 'Seven Spears' of Shizuaatake, Katō Yoshiaki, another of the seven, is at the right rear.

warrior. Ishikawa Heisuke, earned equal fame with the others, but was killed in action

There followed a bloody pursuit. Sakuma's troops throwing weapons and armour to one side as they ran through the dense forests. They flooded back into Echizen, and it was an astonished and dismayed Shibata Katsuje that saw the forerunners of the defeated army stagger up to the gates of Kita no shō (Fukui) castle. Katsuie then committed hara-kiri.

### The battle of Okita Nawate, 1584

Okita Nawate was fought near to Shimabara castle on the Shimabara peninsula of Kyūshū island, and



Wakizaka Yasuharu, with the conjoined circle mon, is shown here in action during the battle of Shizugatake, 1583. He became one of the 'Seven Spears'.

is also referred to as the battle of Shimabara. The Shimazu, supported by the Arima, had entrenched themselves on high ground near Shimabara, where they met a flerect attack from Ryužoji Takanobu. The Ryužoji samurai attacked in three columns: by the the road, over the hills and along the beach. The Arima harassed them by firing on them from large-calibre arquebuses mounted on boats. The Shimazu set in motion their see-piece of a false retreat, and when the Ryužoji Gollowed them a flying column of Shimazu samurai succeeded in taking the head of Ryužoji Takanobu. By this tactic the Shimazu were victorious in spate of an imbal-ance of numbers of 3000 to 30,000 ance of numbers of

#### The battle of Komaki, 1584

The campaign which took in the battles of Komaki and Nagakuer pleted Toyotom Hidgoeshi against Tokugawa leyasu in what was potentially the greatest trial of strength in samural history, following the capture of Inuyama castle by Ikeda Nobuberus, the ally of Toyotomi Hidgoeshi. Mon Nogayotohi advanced from Inuyama to threaten Kiyosu. Tokugawa leyasu sent an army under Sakai Tadafusugu to intercept him. They me tin battle at Komaki. The Tokugawa leyasu sent an army under Sakai Tadafusugu took Mori in the rear. Mori retreated with 300 casual-ties.

# The battle of Nagakute, 1584

The experience of Komaki encouraged Tokugawa levasu to fortify Komakiyama, thus creating a series of forts and field defences which Hidevoshi copied. The result was stalemate, so Ikeda Nobuteru suggested a raid on Mikawa province. His army of 20,000 set off on a night march. The first prize to fall was the castle of Iwasakı, but Tokugawa levasu had anticipated the strategy, and had led an army from his own lines to follow Hidevoshi's force, and at dawn Jevasu's vanguard under Mizuno Tadashige attacked the rearguard. The noise of the fighting carried to the third division of Hideyoshi's army under Hori Hidemasa. who wheeled his troops round to help their comrades and took up position near the village of Nagakute. Here they held back an initial attack by the Tokugawa vanguard, but then prudently withdrew as the main body of the Tokugawa arrived. The Tokugawa army numbered 9000 in all. The hattle of Nagakute then began with the exchange of arquebus fire. Ikeda attacked the It troops in levasu's army, while Mori Nagayoshi waited for levasu to move his division across to support them, thus exposing his flank to an attack. Instead the Tokugawa centre advanced forwards, and Mori Nagayoshi was shot off his horse. This reduced the morale of the Ikeda force, which collapsed shortly afterwards when a young samurai called Nagai Naokatsu took the head of Hidevoshi's commander, Ikeda Nobuteru. Hideyoshi had by now set off with reinforcements, but neither side was willing to risk any more in battle, and both armies withdrew to their positions.

### The siege of Kaganoi, 1584

Oda Nobuo was the most prominent member of the Oda family to continue to oppose Hideyoshi. In a move against him, Toyotomi Hideyoshi attacked Kaganoi on the Kisogawa, and captured it following a heavy bombardment.

#### The siege of Takehana, 1584

Shortly after taking Kaganoi, Hideyoshi employed his former ruse of flooding to capture Takehana castle. The castle was inundated in less than a month after the waters of the Kisogawa were diverted by a dam.

#### The siege of Kanie, 1584

In a further move against Oda Nobuo, Toyotomi Hideyoshi threatened Kanie castle in Owari province, located between Kiyosu and Nagashima. It was held for the Oda by Maeda Tanetoshi, who happened to be the cousin of Takigawa Kazumasu. whom Hidevoshi had pardoned for his part in supporting Shibata Katsule, Kazumasu successfully persuaded Maeda to change sides. With Kame as a base, the new allies raided the nearby Ono castle, which was defended successfully by its keeper who had blazing torches flung into the attacking boats. Kanie was then attacked by forces under Sakakibara and Oda on behalf of the Tokugawa/Oda alliance. The attackers broke through the outer defences, and negotiated a surrender on condition that they were given the head of the traitor Maeda Tanetoshi, Tanetoshi tried to escape. but his cousin Takigawa Kazumasu was too quick for him, and supplied the required trophy by his own hand.

#### The siege of Suemori, 1584

At the time of the Komaki and Nagakute campaigns, Sasa Narimasa sided against Toyotomi Hideyoshi, while his former companion-in-arms, Maeda Toshije, supported the Toyotomi faction. They came to blows at the siege of Suemori castle in Noto province, On 9 October 1584 Sasa Narimasa laid siege to Suemori castle with 15,000 men. It was held for Maeda Toshiie by Okamura Sukie'mon, who was ably assisted by his wife. The garrison were in desperate straits until Maeda Toshije arrived in the middle of the night with a relieving force, and defeated Sasa Narimasa, By this action Maeda Toshije was established as the most powerful daimyō in this part of Japan.

### The siege of Toyama, 1585

In August 1585 Toyotomi Hideyoshi led an army possibly 100,000 strong against Sasa Narimasa and besigged him in castle of Toyama Maeda Toshije took a prominent part in the attack, With Sasa's defeat the Toyotomi faction gained supremacy in Etchü province.

# The siege of Ōta castle, 1585

Ōta castle, held by the Saiga Ikkō-ikki, was overcome by Toyotomi Hideyoshi by flooding. See the account as a separate case study.

# The invasion of Shikoku and the siege of Ichinomiva, 1585

In 1585 Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Shikoku in a brief but very successful campaign, Ichinomiya was the final battle whereby Hideyoshi gained control of Shikoku from the Chösokabe family. The invasion of Shikoku was carried out by three

- divisions: 1. Hashiba Hidenaga and Hashiba Hidetsugu. with 30,000 men each, who crossed via the island
- of Akashi and assaulted Awa and Tosa provinces 2. Ukita Hideie, with 23,000 men, who attacked Sanuki province.
- 3. Môri Terumoto, Kobayakawa Takakage and Kikkawa Motonaga, with 30,000 men, who advanced against Ivo province.

The armies were transported in 600 large ships and 103 smaller ones. Chösokabe Motochika was for fighting against this overwhelming show of force, even though his closest confidants advised against it. When Hidevoshi's army laid siege to Ichinomiya castle, Chosokabe made a half-hearted attempt to relieve it, but surrendered after a 26day siege. Chôsokabe was allowed to keep Tosa province, while the rest of the island was divided among Hidevoshi's generals

### The battle of Hitotoribashi, 1585

Hitotoribashi was an important battle in the north of Japan. Date Masamune's father Terumune had been murdered by Hatakeyama Yoshitsugu, the keener of Nihonmatsu castle. On succeeding to his inheritance. Date Masamune swore vengeance on Hatakevama, and engaged him in battle at Hitotoribashi in October 1585. In spite of a huge imbalance in numbers (Date had 7000 men against the Hatakevama and allies of 30,000). Masamune won a decisive victory.

### The siege of Iwaya, 1586

In 1586 the Shimazu army moved north through Kvůshů. They advanced in three columns: 15,000 under the daimyo Shimazu Yoshibisa, and by a separate route a vanguard of 1300 under Shimazu Jehisa leading a main body of 67,000 under Shimazu Yoshihiro, Iwaya castle in Bungo province was defended by Takahashi Joun against Yoshihisa's division. He fought bravely but killed himself as the castle fell.

### The siege of Tachibana, 1586

The Shimazu army moved from Iwaya to besiege Tachibana, but when news reached them of Hideyoshi's planned intervention, they pulled back to Higo province while the other divisions fought in Bungo.

#### The siege of Toshimitsu, 1586

In Bungo province the Shimazu general Niiro Tadamoto besieged Toshimitsu castle and fought off a relieving force, then laid sugge to the Otomo capital of Funai. This act of aggression by the Shimazu was the pretext Toyotomi Hidevoshi needed to take direct action on Kvūshū island. The Otomo were joined by reinforcements from Shikoku island under Chosokahe Motochika, and an army under Sengoku Hidehisa. Their orders

were to act defensively, until further troops from Hidevoshi himself and the Mori clan were able to ioin them in Kyushu. By now half the invading Shimazu army had pulled back to safeguard their extended lines of communication from Satsuma province. Perhaps because of this reduction in enemy numbers (now reckoned at 15,000), the Otomo and their new allies (7000 in all) decided to disobey orders and try again to relieve Toshimitsu. The Shimazu besieging army noted their approach, and redoubled their efforts to take Toshimitsu. which subsequently fell to a rapid and ferocious attack

### The battle of Hetsugigawa, 1586

Following the fall of Toshimitsu, Chosokabe Motochika proposed a retreat, but his companions insisted on doing battle. They were arranged in two main bodies, Sengoku and Ōtomo on the left. Chōsokabe on the right. The Shimazu set up a decoy force led by Iiûin Hisanori, who led an attack across the river, and then withdrew which persuaded the allied left wing, whose vanguard was led by a certain Soko Nagayasu, to follow them. They were met by arquebus and arrow fire. and the main body of the Shimazu, under Niiro Tadamoto, Shimazu Yoshihiro and Shimazu Jehisa, then fell upon them. After fierce fighting, the Ötomo/Sengoku force collapsed back across the river on to its right wing. Chosokabe Motochika was obliged to signal a retreat, during which his son and heir Nobuchika was killed. Following the battle. Otomo fled from Bungo, and the province fell to the Shimazii

#### HAMATE AND HARA-KIR!

Two extracts from Metryő Köhan make very different points about the wearing of haidate (thigh guards):

"It is fine to wear haidate when crossing rivers, but detrimental when advancing on mountains and forests."

There was also a very different occasion when haidate might be troublesome, but a samurai general was expected not to be concerned about such niceties:

"At the time of the siege of Osaka, concerning the armour of the innumerable corpses from seppuku the haidate had been taken off. After the fall of the castle some were captured alive within the castle, and explained that at the time of Sanada Daisuke's suicide, unlike those who took off their haidate he did not even untie his, as was the way of hara-kiri for a general. Sanada's (other) son also proceeded with suicide while wearing haidate," (Sasama 1968; 338),



Opposite page: Date Masamune, one of the areatest of the daimyō, dominated northern Janan. He is shown here as an equestrian statue in Sendai, his capital, His helmet has a huae crescent moon maedate (crest) and he wears the sendai do style of solid plate hody armour with which he eautoped all his troops.

## The battle of Takaio (Takashiro), 1587

Hashiha Hidenaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's half-brother, landed in Kyūshū to oppose the Shimazu, who had by now taken the old Otomo capital of Funai. His total command was 90,000 men. The Shimazu withdrew beyond Takaiō castle in Hyuga province, which Hidenaga proceeded to besiege. Shimazu Jehisa thereupon broke off their withdrawal, and began to march back to relieve Takajō, Hidenaga faced them with part of his army (probably about 15,000), from behind a rough stockade. The Shimazu attacked with 20,000. Three thousand were ordered to demolish the

barricades, and then to act as the decoy force. This they did successfully, and their withdrawa) allowed a gap for the Shimazu cavalry, However, the Shimazu were then themselves fooled by a ruse on the part of the invading army, who had sent a small detachment of 1500 towards the Shimazu rear. This detachment rigged up a dummy army that appeared to cut off the retreat to Satsuma. They also attacked the Shimazu from the rear, giving the impression that there were far more of them than was actually the case. Under simultaneous pressure from the front, the Shimazu began a fighting withdrawal, covered by



the sharp blades of ljuin, Shirakawa and Hirata, whose self-sacrificing role enabled the army to escape back to Satsuma.

## The siege of Ganiaku, 1587

While his half-brother hattled his way down the eastern side of Kyushi, Cryotom Hideyoshi followed a more westerly route. Garjaku castle was held by a retainer of Akizuki Tanezane. Hideyoshi decided to leave a small force to reduce the castle while the rest of the army moved on, but none of his generals was willing to stay behind, so had to draw lost. Gamb Ujisacio was the loses.

decided to settle the matter quickly by a fierce and successful assault. The attack is noteworthy because Hideyoshi sat on a nearby hill where he rewarded the samurai who brought heads to him by giving them gold coins from a chest.

### The siege of Akizuki (Oguma), 1587

Hideyoshu's next objective was Akizuki Tanezane's Oguma castle in Buzen province, but when it was besieged by Hideyoshi, Akizuki secretly evacuated the castle by night. Legend tells us that when Hideyoshi entered the castle to take possession he had white paper stuck on the walls to righe the impression to Akizuki that he had the resources to have an entire castle replastered in one night. Akizuki was informed of this by watchers from a nearby castle and immediately surrendered.

# The battle of Sendaigawa (Chidorigawa), 1587

Hidevoshi and Hidenaga then joined forces. The Sendaigawa (Chidorigawa) formed a natural most to the north of Kagoshima. and here Niiro Tadamoto made a stand against the advancing troops of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He commanded an army of 5000. who faced the 170,000 of Hidevoshi's combined army of invasion. Nothing daunted. Niiro Tadamoto led his men in a wild charge against the overwhelming numbers of the Toyotomi force. and even engaged Kató Kivomasa in single combat. As darkness fell, the remnants of the Satsuma army withdrew back Kagoshima

### The siege of Kagoshima, 1587 After the defeat at Sendaigawa,

the Shimazu pulled back to Kagoshima. The Toyotomi army surrounded the Shimazu capital

troops from Akune. Meanwhile Hashiba Hidenaga advanced by the main road as columns under Koliki Kiyomasa, Fukushima Masanori and Kuroda Yoshitaka made their way through the volcanic gultaka made their way through the volcanic gultaka made their way through as made the volcanic gultaka made their way through consideration of defence, and the support of the support

and made an amphibious landing with 60,000

# The battle of Nakaniida, 1588

At the battle of Nakaniida, to the south of Iwate castle, Date Masamune defeated an army of the Ozaki family.



### The battle of Kubota, 1588

Date Masamune defeated an allied army which had laid siege to his castle of Kubota when he went to the aid of the garrison.

### The siege of Kurokawa, 1589

Long rivalry existed between the Date and Ashina families. When Ashina Moritaka was assassinated, Ashina Morishige, the son of Satake Yoshushige, was chosen to inherit, bur many of the Ashina vassals passed over into the service of the Date. Sensing the moment, Date Massmune invaded the Ashina territories and captured the castle of Kurokawa.

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### The battle of Suriagehara, 1589

The battle of Suriagehara was fought in the aftermath of Kurokawa between Date Masamune with 23,000 men and Ashina Yoshihiro with 16,000. The Date were victorious

### The siege of Hachigata, 1590

The major operation of 1590 was Toyotomi the Höjö capital of Odawara. As a 'curtamr-aiser' to the siege of Odawara. Maeda Toshiie and Uesugi Kagekatsu laid siege to Hachigata castle with 35,000 men. The garrison under Hölö Uikum held out for one month.

#### The third siege of Odawara, 1590

The third and final siege of Odawara happened in 1590. The Höjö had been strengthening Odawara's defences since 1582, but 1590 saw a flurry of activity as Hidevoshi's intentions became clear, the daimyō requiring ten days of labour from five villages in a nearby area, and stating that one day of work missed would be punished by requiring five extra days' work. Hoes and scythes were brought for work on the mosts. When Hidevoshi turned his attentions against the Höjö, the liveli ness and gaiety of the besieging camp, which grew to the size of a small city, provided subtle psychological warfare as it contrasted their relaxed state with the desperation of the garrison within. Concubines, merchants, prostitutes, musicians, dancers, acrobats, jugglers, wrestlers, tightrope walkers and fire-eaters were among the noisy and often visible presence in the most unconventional siege lines in samurai history, 'We have surrounded Odawara with two or three rings." wrote Hidevoshi to his wife, 'and have constructed a pair of moats and walls, and we do not intend to let a single enemy out.' During the long siege 50,000 men occupied Odawara, while over 200,000 troops surrounded them. The roads and walkways connecting the duty stations were crowded by the defending garrison. Soldiers slept with their armour as pillows, and stood so close together on the parapets with their arquebuses that attack was visibly discouraged. On the whole, the campaign was one of a total blockade, with patient siegework but there were several minor skirmishes around the castle. On one occasion, miners from Kai province tunnelled under one of Odawara's walls. A sudden storm brought the wall down, causing a breach sufficient to allow entry by the troops of In Naomasa. After three months the castle fell, surrendered by the Höjö daimyö who realised that they could not hold out against such enormous odds.

### The siege of Shimoda, 1590

The siege of Shimoda provides the unusual example of a siege being conducted largely by a navy. Shimoda was a coastal fort owned by the Höjö, and during the siege of Odawara it was besieged by Hidroposhi's Riet under Chōsokabe Motochika, Kath Yoshinkik, Kuki Yoshinkika and Ankokuji Ekci, who commanded 14,000 men. Shimoda was defended by only 600 men, but held out for four months before capitulating.

#### The siege of Oshi, 1590

Oshi was a Hôjô castle in Musashi Province. In 1590 Ishida Mitsunari completed the triumph of his master Toyotomi Hideyoshi by capturing Oshi. He used the technique that had succeeded so well for Hideyoshi, that of diverting a river to flood the castle area.

### The siege of Kunoe, 1591

Kunoe castle, defended by 5,000 men under Kunoe Masazane, represented the last resistance against the unification of Japan under Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Kunoe fell to an attack by Gamō Unsato.

### The invasions of Korea, 1592-8

The land battles of the Korean invasion are described here. For the sea battles see the separate case study.

# The siege of Pusan, 1592 The taking of Pusan, the most important port on

the southern coast of Korea, was the engagement by which the first investion of Korea began. The attack was carried out on 13 April 1592. The first group to land were the advance party under 50 Yoshitome. So was the daimyo of Tsushima, the island of Japan that is closest to Korea, and was personally acquainted with the local area. In command of the garrison was a certain Chong Bal. Refusing to surrender, he ordered his men to fight. to the death, but was shot dead during the assault. Korean casualties numbered 8000, with 200 being taken prisoner.

While So Yoshitomo attacked the main fortress. of Pusan. Konishi Yukinaga launched a simultaneous assault on a naval fort near the harbour. which was defended by 6000 Koreans. The governor stated that he would only take orders to surrender from the king of Korea. Yukinaga pretended to withdraw while the required orders were obtained but instead launched a surprise attack at 4.00 a.m. the following morning. The most was quickly filled in with rocks and earth. and the Japanese climbed over the walls. The fort surrendered after two hours.

### The siege of Tongnae, 1592

Tongnae was a fortress situated in a strong position on a hill a little to the north of Pusan. It was defended by Song Sang-hyon with 20,000 men. many of whom were ill-equipped and poorly trained. Nevertheless Song refused to surrender and held out for twelve hours. During the course of the action the Japanese erected a message board which read, 'Fight if you want to, or let us pass', to which the brave young commander replied with the words. 'It is easy for me to die but impossible to let you pass.' On 15 April Konishi Yukinaga personally led the assault which took Tongnae, and attempts were made to capture the commander alive. Five thousand of the defenders were slaughtered.





The heroism of Chona Bal, leader of the defence of Pusan against the Japanese landina in 1592. Chona Bal, in black armour, is shown on the right of this painting, reproduced by courtesy of the Ch'unavölsa Shrine in Pusan.

#### ACCOUNTS OF THE KOREAN INVASIONS

Contemporary accounts of the Korean invasions add greatly to our knowledge of warfare in these savage campaigns. First, a Korean account sums up the fiasco of the battle of Sangiu:

"Before long, several figures appeared from the forest. They lottered about for a few minutes before they returned. The officers and men wondered if they might be a scouting party of the enemy. However, they did not dare say so because of their knowledge of the heheaded villager. Then they could observe smoke and fire arising from several points in the town. Suspicion aroused, I'll sent one of his officers to secretain the truth. When the officer mounted his horse, two foot-soldiers took the bridle and went off very slowly. A Japanese soldier below a bridge then shot at the officer with a musket. When he fell off his horse, the soldier beheaded him and ran away. The friendly soldiers were all greatly shocked at the incident. All of a sudden the enemy approached in great numbers. They shot at the friendly soldiers with many muskets. All who were shot fell to the ground."

A Buddhist monk called Tenkei accompanied the Japanese army and wrote the following account of the battle of Ch'ungju which followed shortly after Sangju:

"26 April. Clear, We left Sangju at 6.00 a.m., passed Hamchang at 2.00 p.m. and reached Mungyong at 10.00 p.m. The castle at Mungyong had already been burned by its occupants.

"27 April. Clear. We left Mungyong at 6,00 a.m. passed Appo at 1,000 a.m. and reached GN ungin at 2,00 p.m. A Korean general, who had come down from the capital, deployed his forces at Songsan. The loyal army (i.e. the Japanese's rushed on towards the enemy on horseback with their military flags. The enemy at Songsan was forced to retreat. The forces of So and Konishi made a hot pursuit of the retreating enemy, beheading more than 3000 and capturing several bundred. General Shin killed

himself."

As the Japanese army moved up Korea, a Korean account relates how the city of Py'ong-yang was abandoned:

"Around dusk on 15 June, the citizens began to cross the Taedong river in multitude. The Irendly troops defending the river did not date to shoot strowns at them. Thereupon the refugees sped away. The enemy, who had already crossed the river, did not make any further advance, out of suspicion that there might be a trap within the valls. That night Yun Tu Su and his Kim Myong won opened the gates of the castle in order to mobilise the citizens for the task of sinking the arms and guns into the pond near the Pungwollu pavillon. Yun Tu Su and his party escaped to Su nan through the Boltongrum Gate. No enemy pursued them. The following day the enemy reached the outskirs of the castle. When they climbed Murrobung Hill, the city was already deserted. Not a single man could be observed. Thereupon the enemy entered the castle. The warehouses in which more than 100,000 sok of grain had been stored also fell to the nemy."

# The battle of Sangju, 1592

The battle of Sangiu, 1592.

An attempt was made to stop the invading Japanese forces at Sangiu on 24 April 1592. The Korean general 711 look charge of the operation, and recruited a makeshift army of 800-900 men from among the local peasantry, but when a villager came to inform the general that the Japanese army was very near, he had the man beheaded on the grounds that this report would lower morale. Believing he had plenty of time to arrange his troops, y'il deployed his army on a hill and look a forward oosition mounted on his borse.

When the Japanese attacked, general Yi II ordered the Koreans to retaliate with arrows, but their shots fell short. Konishl Yukinaga then divided his force into two and began to encircle the Korean positions. Yi II panicked, and turned his horse around to exace, at which all his army followed his example. Most were caught by the pursuing lananese and heheaded.

#### The battle of Ch'ungiu, 1592

Ch'ungju castle was the most important fortress on the road to Seoul, It lay to the north of the narrow pass of Choryong, which was a potential death-trap for the invading Japanese army. Konishi Yukinaga was opposed by a Korean force of 16,000 men under the Korean general Shin Nip. The original plan of Shin Nip had indeed been to stop the Japanese at the pass, but his morale had been so shaken by the fall of Sangju that he withdrew to the north of Ch'ungiu, thus abandoning a potentially excellent defensive position. Instead he drew up his forces at a place called T'angumdae (otherwise known as Songsan), with his back to two streams and flanked by rice naddles. Here he hoped the flatlands would give his cavalry the opportunity to sweep the Japanese away with their halberds and flails

army in three divisions with many flags flying so as to give the impression of a larger host. Matsuura Shigenobu led the right wing with 3000 men Konishi Yukinaga moved forward in the centre with 7000 men, while So Yoshitomo took the left wing with 5000. The flank units kept to the easily defendable sides of the valley, from where they were able to fire their arguebuses down on to the Korean army. Three thousand seven hundred men under Arima. Ömura and Goto maintained a rearguard in front of Ch'ungiu castle. General Shin Nip faced the attack personally, but when he found that he could not penetrate the Japanese line and was being slowly encircled, he turned his horse back, plunged into the stream and killed himself.

On 27 April 1592, Konishi Yukinaga covered

Ch'ungiu itself and advanced against the Korean

Many others did the same, and as the three Japanese units pressed forward, the rest of the Korean army ran away. Seeing their army defeated. the garrison of Ch'ungju surrendered, leaving Seoul open for occupation, Shortly afterwards Konishi Yukinaga entered the abandoned capital by the Eastern Gate, while Katō Kiyomasa entered by the Southern Gate.

### The battle of the Imiin river, 1592

The Imiin river was a powerful natural barrier between Seoul and P'yong-yang. The Korean army made a stand on the north bank and covered the only crossing point with their archers. The Japanese army were forced to halt for ten days. then on 14 May put into operation a false retreat, at which many of the Korean army crossed the river in pursuit. The advancing Korean soldiers were surrounded and cut down in full view of their comrades on the northern bank. Seeing this, the Korean commander ordered a general retreat, and the Japanese crossed the undefended river.

# The first siege of P'yong-yang, 1592

The Japanese took P'yong-yang in July 1592 when a night attack by the Korean army disclosed the location of the fords across the Taedong river. P'vone-vane thus became the most northerly of the string of fortified places which the Japanese held in Korea, Troops under Konishi Yukinaga, Kuroda Nagamasa and So Yoshitomo entered the deserted city on 16 June 1592.



A very rare postcard from early this century showing the defensive walls of P'vona-vana above the Taedong River. It is referred to as 'Heiso', the name by which P'yong-yang was known under the Japanese occupation.

#### PROOF OF DUTY DONE

It is beyond question that the Japanese invasion of Koreo was attended by much brutality and unnecsessar cruelty to the population, but one of the most unsavoury aspects associated with the reading of the property of the population of the flogsitical problems of campaigning overseas. The traditional Japanese method of poving duty done was to present the severed head of the enemy to one's general. In Korea the head was substituted by the nose. These grisky trophics were collected, in 150°, Nabeshima Naoshige forwarded 544 noses, while Kikkawa Hiroke's unit submitted 18:350 and within the space of 58 at Nabeshima Naoshige forwarded 544 noses, while Kikkawa Hiroke's unit submitted 18:350 and within one month. After the battle of 58xth'ns Minnaza, Yoshihin sears thome no less than 33,700 noses, which were interred in a mound that is still a prominent landmark in Kyôto, although it is known incorrectly as the Miniziaka (eur mound).

An anecdote quoted by Takahashi from Kazawa Hirazaemon Töcho, however, calls into question where this practice was confined to Korea. If the reference is to Sanada Nobuyuki, then the battle, and the bizare trophy-taking described, must have occurred on Jananese soil:

"ba Mo'emon had just attained his seventeenth year but was not intimidated. He entered the north batley, and while at the castle gate he slew all of fifty of the enemy. He opened the gate and went out and waited. Here he was attacked by seventeen of the enemy whom he out down. Then he cut off their noses and wrapped them in an enemy flag, and announced this in the presence of Lord Nobuyuki." "Chakhashi 1965: 2901

We must not, however, draw too hasty a comparison with modern ideals of war atrocities. A memorial to the Korean court presented by admiral Yi Sun-shin contains several references to identical practices being carried out under orders by the Koreans against the Japanese. For example:

"We burned 72 Japanese vessels and cut off 88 heads of the Japanese robbers, from which the left ears were ordered to be cut off, salted and packed in a box for shipment to the Court," (Lee 1981: 53)

### The battle of Choniu, 1592

The battle of Chonju, fought on 10 July 1592, was one of the most important victories by the Koreans over the Japanese on land. The Korean Yi Kwang led an army which defeated Kobayakawa Takakage and drove his division back to Kimsan.

#### The battle of Haejöngch'ang, 1592

The battle of Haejöngch'ang on 19 July provided the most serious resistance to the advance of Kalo Kjomass into the north-eastern part of Korza. Kjomass into the north-eastern part of Korza Kjomass was accompanied by Nabeshima Naschijes and Sagara Nagatsune. Haejöngch'ang was the location of a grain warchouse. The surrounding area, which was flat and allowed wide movement, was defended by Han Kuk-ham, having forced the Japanese to retreat into the warchouse, he allowed his army to become an easy target for an entrended enemy when he attacked the position in close formation. The Japanese used grain bags as barricades, and

fired arquebuses into the dense throng of Koreans. Han Kük-ham was forced to withdraw to a nearly mountain, from which he planned to deliver a counter-state. the following morning, Instead it was the Japanese who attacked during the right. It was the Japanese who attacked during the right. It was dark and foggy, and they encrete the Korean position so dawn broke. Kato Kiyomasa left a gap in his lines which led towards a swamp. Natrually enough, the encircled Koreans made for the gap, and were slaughtered in the swamp.

### The first siege of Chinju, 1592

On 4 October 1592, an army of 20,000 men under the command of Booskawa Tadaoki laid siege to Chinju castle. Inside the fortress were 3800 Korean soldiers and many civilan refugees. An assault on the walls began the following day, and continued into the night. The Japanese bombarded the walls with cannon and lit signal beacons outside the walls to intimidate the garrison. However, that same night a Korean guernila army approached the Japanese lines from the rear, which greatly excou-







Above left: An illustration from Ehon Taikōki showing the battle of Haejōngch'ang, where Kato Kiyomasa's army defended a rice warehouse with straw bales and fought off a Korean Army.

Left: The battle of Byökchekwan, the largest conflict of the Korean invasions. On the right Kobayakawa Takakage fights under the Möri banner, while above him may be identified Tachibana Muneshige.

aged the defenders. Meanwhile the Japanese built a high tower from which they could fire down into the castle. On 7 October the Japanese brought up 1000 bamboo schaling ladders and tred to rush the walls, to which the Korean soldiers and civilians responded with rocks and builing abater. That night 2000 guerrillas managed to enter the castle while creating a diversion elsewhere. The Japanese army temporarily suspended the attack, but being faced with more guerrillas at their rear, at down on 10 October the assault was called off permanently, and the Japanese army withdrew.

The second siege of P'yong-yang, 1592

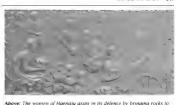
The first attempt to retake P'yong-yang was launched by a Chinese army who crossed into

Korea from the north. The Japanese opened the gates of the city to them, leading them into a trap from where they were shot at or cut down in fierce street lighting.

The third siege of P'vong-yang, 1593

The first Chanese attack on Pyong-yang failed, but a much larger Chinese force lad siege to Pyong yang in February 1593. The Japanese commander Konsshi Yukinaga met the Chinese under Li Jo Sho in battle on high ground to the north of the city, but sheer weight of numbers forced the Japanese army to withdraw back within the walls Fazed with almost certain defeat, Knishi secretly evacuated Pyong-yang during the night and retreated south with his army towards Seoul.

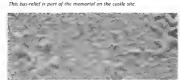




Above: The women of Haengju assist in its defence by bringing rocks to the men in the lines by carrying them in their aprons. This is a bas-relief on the site of the castle. Below: The Japanese are repulsed during the first seep of Chinju by the determination of the defenders welding boiling water, arrows and rocks.

Above: The main gate of Chinju castle in Korea, which was the site of two fierce sieges during the first Japanese invasion. It is of typical construction, with much greater use being made of stone than in a comparable Japanese castle. The stone arch is very different from the wooden auteways of

lapanese fortresses.



# The battle of Byökchekwan, 1593

The battle of sylokchekwan, or Tyok je yek, was the largest conflict of the Korean invasion. It began as a recrigated action by Kobayakwar alkakage to allow the Japanese army to regroup in Seoul, a short distance to the south. In addition to Kobayakwars unit of 10,000 men, Kato Kiyomaas supplied 3000. The Japanese stationed themselves in two divisions on the hill of Byökchekwan with the main body behind. The Chinese attacked a dawn, and began to force the Japanese back through the mud and slush, then began a vigorous pursuit down the reverse slope. Seeing their opportunity as the Chinese army became further detached from their own rearguard and became further detached from their own rearguard and became mired in the sogg ground, the Japanese under Kobayakwar Taiskakage counter. attacked, and the fighting developed into a huge mèlée. The Japanese were victorious largely owing to the superior quality of their swords.

### The battle of Haengju, 1593

For the first ten days of February 1593. Kwon Yul (1539-99), who was perhaps the ablest of all the Korean generals, prepared to make a stand at Haengju to constrain the movements of the Japanese by threatening Seoul. Haengju castle stood 14 km downstream on the Han river to the west of Seoul on a low hill, with the river as its southern defence. On the other three sides the area of the fort was surrounded by a zone of swampy land. The whole army is said to have totalled 10,000 men in all including 1000 priests.

soldiers under the command of the priest general Cho Yun Room of the Room of R

### The second siege of Chinju, 1593

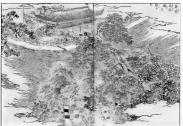
On 21 June 1593 a huge Japanese arm, advanced on Chinju castle, eager to succeed where Hosokawa Tadaoki had failed the previous year. The bulk of the army was made up of the troops of Konishi Yukinaga. Katō Kiyomasa and Ukita Hiddie, with Kobayakawa Takakage's army held back as a reserve corps on a hill to the north. The Japanese attack began across the Chinyang river, the defenders being occupied by arquebus fire the defenders being occupied by arquebus fire the company of the control of the con

driven off. Seeing the garrison so determined not to let them scale the walls, kato Kynmasa ordered the construction of some heavy wooden wagons, reinforced by fireproofed hides. These were pushed up to the walls, and as rocks bounced off the wagons' roots, the Japanese prised at the stones of the castle walls with large crowbars. After several days of effort, a breach was made, and a section of the walle silven the reach was made, and a section of the waller stones of the castle walls with large crowbars. After several days of effort, as breach was made, and a section of the wall collapsed, and on 29 Jane the attackers managed to create through this castle was the state of the wall was seen to the proposed of the state of the state of the state of the state of the wall was the state of the wall was the state of the wall was the state of the state of the wall was the wall was the state of the wall was the was the wall was the was the wall was the was the wall was the wall was the was the was

The story of the stege has an interesting addition, because that night the victorious Japanese generals celebrated their triumph in the Ch'oksongmu Pavillon in Chinju castle. One general, a certain keyamura Rokusuke, was entited on to a balcony by a Korcan courtesan called Monkac, who embraced Keyamura and then allowed herself to toppile backwards over the edge of a parapet, taking the samurai with her to his death.

### The siege of Namwon, 1597

The second Japanese invasion of Korea was launched in 1597. The invading armies landed at Pusan and, splitting into two divisions, headed



The taking of Namwön during the second invasion of Korea in 1597 is well illustrated in this picture from Ehon Taiköki. The Japanese have built up an enormous pile of green rice stalks and are clambering up it to cross the battlement. inland. Usita Hidde was in overall command of a force of 56,800 men, who set off with the objective of the castle of Namwon in Chollado province. Shimzau Yoshither, Konsth Yukinaga, So Yoshi Shimzau Yoshither, Konsth Yukinaga, So Yoshi Loshi, Ito Yühei, Tödö Takatora, Katō Yoshiaki and Hachisuka lemasa Joined the sige on 12 August 15597. The Chinese generals Chin Yuan and Li Shin Fuan commanded a garrison of 3000 men, together with a Korean army of 1000 troops under Yi Bokunem.

The attack began on 13 August, but Namwon held out against the enormous odds of the Japanese army for four days. At this point the Japanese put a clever straigenin into operation. After much fierce fighting, the invaders secured the moat, and one dark night began to pile up against a high, and thus lightly guarded, section of the wall a mass of bundles of green rice stalks, cut from the surrounding fields. By the time the garrison realises what was happening, the samurative remounting scaling hadders and pouring into the artion, and the castle fell.

### The siege of Ulsan, 1597-8

Ulsan was a fortified position 60 km north of Pusan, held by Katō Kiyomasa and Asano Yukinaga. The Chinese army of 40,000 men under Yang Ho began a steep in late 1597. There were several attacks on the garrison, which were beaten off. During one such assault, the Japanese sallied out to find themselves surrounded by a vast Chinese army that reinforcements had swollen to 80,000 men. By now the Japanese garrison was reduced to 5000 men, who began to suffer from hunger and thirst as all access to water was cut off. At night foragers were sent out for water but often found the ponds filled with corpses. Nevertheless, the garrison were so thirsty that they had to drink the water mixed with blood. Soon the provisions were exhausted, and the troops were reduced to eating paper and even boiling the earth taken off the walls for meals. All the cattle and the horses had long since been consumed. A few brave foragers ventured to go out during the night in search of rice or roasted heef which could be found around the waists of some dead soldiers among the attackers. The siege was eventually lifted by a lapanese army under Kuroda, Naheshima and Hachisuka, while Konishi Yukinaga's fleet braved the Korean blockade to get supplies through.

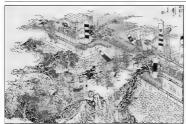
#### The hattle of Sach'on

Shimazu Yoshihiro and his son Shimazu Tadatsune had participated in the capture of Namwon castle, and following this success they took up residence in the castle of Sach'ön. However, Yoshihiro noticed that 6 km to the south-west

The desperation of the defenders of Ulsan in 1598 are shown in this illustration from Ehon Taiköki Starving japanese soldiers have left the castle under cover of darkness and are scouring the bodies of the dead Chinese for

morsels of food





The Shimazu army under Shimazu Voshi hiro sally out of the gate of the new castle of Sach'on to take on the Chinese army, the action which led to the battle of Sach'on. Details of a Chinese batterina ram, which incorporates a cannon. are well shown in this illustration from Fhon Taikāki

lay a small natural harbour, so he began construction of a new castle on this site, which was protected on three sides by the sea, enabling warships to pass under the castle walls. When the new castle of Sach'on was completed 8000 troops were stationed there as a garrison. leaving Murakami Tadazane in charge of the old castle with 300 men

Very soon a large Chinese army under Ton Yuan made preparations for a siege of Sach'on. By the middle of September 1598. Ton Yuan had assembled an army of 34,000 Chinese troops together with 2000 Koreans, On 1 October 1598, the allied army arrived at Sach'on, just too late to stop Murakami Tadazane breaking out of the old castle and joining Shimazu Yoshihiro in the new one. The old castle was taken, and the rival armies began a bitter struggle. Yoshihiro took the initiative, and led his army out of Sach'on to meet the Chinese and Koreans in a field battle. Three divisions attacked simultaneously from out of the three landward gates. The force of the attack broke the besieging army, who were driven back as far as the river with many casualties. The chronicle of the Shimazu family claims that 33,700 heads were taken, and that a huge hole 20 ken across was dug outside the castle to take the bodies. The heads, however, were not saved for inspection. Instead the noses were sliced off the corpses and sent back to Japan preserved in salt.

## The siege of Omori, 1599

In the years following Hideyoshi's subjugation of the daimso a land survey was carried out in northern Japan. This often provoked resentment. and a striking example was the resistance against the land survey enforcement daimyō Ōtani Yoshit sugu, that was mounted as late as 1599 by the minor daimyō Onodera Yasumichi, Yasumichi fortified himself in his castle of Omori together with a large peasant army referred to in the texts as the 'Yamakita ikki'. Women fought alongside the men, and it was women who heat off a fierce assault by throwing stones from the walls. possibly by means of catapults. The siege was eventually abandoned with the onset of thick snow, but within a year the affair had been forgotten as both sides took up the ill-fated Ishida cause at Sekigahara.

#### The siege of Ueda, 1600

In 1600, in the campaign that ended with the battle of Sekigahara, an army commanded by Tokugawa Hidetada set out from Edo along the Nakasendo. the road that ran through the central mountains of lapan. The aim was for Hidetada to join up with his father Tokugawa Jeyasu. While on his way, however. Hidetada commenced a siege of the castle of Ueda, held by the father and son team of Sanada Masayuki and Sanada Yukimura. So desperately was their castle defended that Tokugawa Hidetada

abandoned the siege. By then he had been delayed for sufficiently long that he missed the battle of Sekigahara, an omission that could have had very serious consequences had the victory not already been secured by the treachery of Kobayakawa.

# The siege of Fushimi, 1600

The defence of Fushimi castle by Torii Mototada on behalf of Tokugawa Ievasu was one of the most celebrated acts of heroism and lovalty in samurai history. For details see the case study on Sekigahare and the section on bushido.

### The siege of Ōtsu, 1600

Ötsu castle was held for the Tokugawa by Kyögoku Takatsugu. He was besieged by Tachibana Muneshige and Tsukushi Hirokado, and surrendered after negotiation, but by this time the Tokugawa triumph had been assured by the victory at Sekigahara. It is recorded that the local inhabitants took picnic boxes to the hills around Mildera to watch the siege in action.

### The siege of Shiroishi, 1600

The supporters of the Tokugawa in the north were led by Date Masamune and Mogami Yoshiaki. Uesugi Kagekatsu was the leader of the pro-Ishida faction, supported by Naoe Kanetsugu. The capture of Shiroishi castle after a fierce attack was Date Masamune's first contribution to the Tokugawa victory during the Sekigahara campaign. Shiroishi lay to the south of Sendai, and was held by a retainer of Uesugi Kagekatsu.

### The siege of Hataya, 1600 Following the fall of Shiroishi castle to Date

Masamune on the east, Naoe Kanetsugu took the initiative for Ishida Mitsunari's cause on the west. On the eighth day of the ninth lunar month, he led his main body of 20,000 troops from Yonezawa in a sweep to the west to advance in the general direction of the important Yamagata castle. Yamagata was the headquarters of Mogami Yoshiaki. who defended it with 10,000 men under Yoshiaki himself, plus Nanbu Toshinao, Akita Sanesue, Tozawa Masamori and others. The main body first attacked Hatava castle, which was bravely defended for a short time by Eguchi Gohei and a garrison of less than 300 men, in an action celebrated in the war chronicles. Nane's army included Kamiizumi Vasutsuna (a descendant of the famous swordsman Nobutsuna). Suthara Chikanori, Irobe Mitsunaga and Kasuga Mototada.

### The siege of Kaminovama, 1600

While Naoe's first division was continuing to move towards Yamagata, his second division (Honmura Chikamori and Yokota Munetoshi - 4000 men) attacked Kaminoyama, which was held for the Mogami by Satomi Minbu. The castle fell, but at the price of the death of Naoe's general Honmura.

### The siege of Hasedo, 1600

While his third division (3000 men under Shida Yoshihide and Shimo Yoshitada) made its way down from the north for an attack on Yamagata. Naoe Kanetsugu made camp to the north of Hasedo



Nage Kanetsuau, defeated at the battle of Hasedo. 1600, is shown in this print by Kuniyoshi. Kanetsugu was a hereditary retainer of the Uesuai and took a major part in the opposition to the Tokugawa allies in the north of Janan.



Left: A painting displayed in Fushimi Momovama castle. Kvöto, showing the old Fushimi castle as it would have appeared during the epic siege of 1600 when Torii Mototada defended it for Tokuaawa Jevasu.

castle, the last obstacle on his way to Yamagata, and received reinforcements of 100 horsemen and 200 arquebusiers. Two days later he laid siege to Hasedo, which was held by Shimura Takaharu. Fierce attacks continued for the next fourteen days. Date Masakage (Masamune's uncle) responded by marching an army across the mountain passes to relieve Yamagata, and made camp 2.5 km to the east. Naoe thereupon ordered an all-out attack on Hasedo, which was led by the vanguard under Kasuga Mototada. The besiegers reached the castle walls before they were driven off by heavy arquebus fire. As the Naoe force retreated, the castle garrison. sallied out and caught them in the rear. Naoe withdrew, leaving a small holding force in front of Hasedo, during which Kamiizumi Yasutsuna was killed. However, by the 27th day news had reached Naoe Kanetsugu of the defeat of Ishida at Sekigahara, so he raised the siege of Hasedo and withdrew all his troops back to Yonezawa. A week later Date Masamune took advantage of the situation and attacked Fukushima castle.

### The siege of Tanabe, 1600

In another 'sideshow' to Sekigahara, Hosokawa Yûsai Fujitaka was besieged in his castle of Tanabe. So revered was this noted scholar that the attack on him was very half hearted, some of the generals absent-mindedly forgetting to put any projectiles into their cannon before firing. This no doubt added to the length of the siege, which kept several Western army contingents away from Sekigahara.

### The battle of Sekigahara, 1600

Following the preliminary moves described elsewhere, Ishida Mitsunari was faced with a night march to Sekigahara, Chosokabe, and some other allies, were already in position on the hills around. Kobayakawa Hideaki was stationed Matsuovama, across the valley from the camp site Ishida selected for himself on Sasaovama, which gave an excellent view of the valley. The plans were that the main body would hold the Tokugawa in the centre, then Kobayakawa would fall on them from the left, while others would attack them in the rear.

Early in the morning of 21 October 1600, the Western army was fully in position around Sekigahara. In the centre were the divisions under Ukita Hidele and Konishi Yukinaga. To the left of them was Ishida Mitsunari himself together with Shimazu Yoshihiro, Shima Sakon and Gamo, with Oda Nobutaka in support. On the right wing, straddline the Nakasendo, were various contingents including Ukita and Hiratsuka, Kinoshita and Toda, and further to their right were Ogawa. Kuchiki, Wakızaka and others. On the extreme right wing, on Matsuovama, was Kobayakawa Hideaki, Facing Kobayakawa's flank was Ötani Yoshitsugu. Several divisions were left behind along the road from Ogaki to provide the rear attack from the reverse side of Nanguyama.

By daybreak the Eastern army had advanced along the Nakasendo to meet them on as wide a front as the narrow valley would allow them. The

Right: The site of the battle of Sekigahara, looking across from Ishida Mitsunari's head-quarters, where his banner now flies, to the hill occupied by Kobayakawa Hideaki, whose treason secured the battle for the Tokugawa.

Below: A mounted warrior is cornered during the battle of Sekigahara on the screen in the Watanabe Museum, Tottori. His mon identifies him as belonging to the Ikeda.





Eastern positions were as follows. Kuroda Nagamasa held the right wing. Hosokawa Tadoka sa situated next to him, along with Katō Yoshiaki and Tanaka Yoshimasa. Or, the left flank was in Naomasa. Forward of the above was Fukushima Masanori. Behind lay Kyōgoka Takatomo and Tōdō Takatora. Honda Tadakaitsu lay behind this divsion, while Tokuzawa Ievasu held the rear centre. with a final rearguard under Yamauchi Kazutoyo, Arima, Asano and Ikeda.

There was a thick fog which persisted until about 8.00 a.m., when the fighting started. The central divisions were the first to engage, the first shots of the battle probably being fired by Ukıta's troops on to those of Ir Naomasa of the Eastern army. Ukıta was successful in driving the East-

erners back, but they rallied and the fight swayed one way and then the other. The front ranks of the Eastern army pushed towards Ishida Mitsunari, while the second rank moved up to attack Konish Yukmaga. Shima Sakon retured wounded after his division was caught in fierce arouphus fire

All the main divisions were now engaged, and Ishida thought the moment opportune to light the signal fire that would bring Kobayakawa down from Matsuovama, But Kobayakawa did not move a man, for one side or the other, and levasu, becoming concerned that the reports he had heard that Kobayakawa would defect were incorrect, sent some men to fire on his division to see what the reaction would be. Kobayakawa responded positively by sending his army down Matsuoyama to assault the flank of Otani, whose contingent was the nearest of the Westerners. Otani had obviously been expecting something like this, for his men turned calmly and repulsed the treacherous attack, but with considerable loss, levasu then ordered a general attack along the line, and further contingents of the Western army, Kuchiki and Wakizaka, showed their true colours. Soon the Otam were being attacked from three sides. Otani Yoshitsugu, who was a leper and crippled through the disease, leaned out of his palanquin in which he was forced to be carried, and asked a retainer

to put an end to him. In the meantime Konishi's division had gradually been driven back, Kobayakawa's men swept through the defeated Otani troops, rounded the rear of Ukita, and attacked Konishi from behind. The Western army began to break up. Only the army of the Shimazu clan was left intact, although most of its men had been killed. Putting himself at the head of 80 survivors, Shimazu Yoshihiro succeeded in cutting his way through the Eastern army and back down the road towards Ogaki. Unfortunately this route took them south-west of Mount Nangu where Ishida's reserve troops were stationed. Some had already decided to join levasu, others were wavering, unsure what to make of the noise they could hear and the garbled reports they were receiving. The battle was already lost, so the very contingents who might have been able to reverse Ishida's defeat turned and marched away from Sekigahara.

## The siege of Minakuchi, 1600

Minakuchi castle in Ömi province was held by Nagatsuka Masaie. He was besieged and killed as the castle fell.

#### The siege of Udo, 1600

During the Sekigahara campaign, Kato Kiyomasa assisted leyasu's cause in Kyūshū by taking the castle of Udo, which belonged to his old rival Konishi Yukinasa.

#### The siege of Yanagawa, 1600

Having taken Udo, Kato Kyomasa jonned up with Kuroda Jósul Yoshtaka to bestege Yangawa castle, owned by Tachibana Muneshige, Jósul had already taken several minor places on the Island of Kyūshū. Muneshige surrendered following in suggestion that he should Join the others in a move against the Shimaru, but when Jeyasu heard of the plan he forbade it.

### The winter campaign of Ösaka. 1614-15

Toyotomi Hidevori, heir of the late Hidevoshi, shut himself up in Osaka castle with a garrison of 113,080 troops, many of whom were ronin, A Tokugawa army of 194,400 men began a long and bitter siege. The first action of the winter campaign was a combined land and water operation at the mouth of the Kizu river, mounted at dawn on 19 November 1614. This vital supply route to the Osaka garrison was covered by a fort containing 800 men under the command of the Christian daimyō Akashi Morishige. Three thousand troops of the Eastern army, under Hachisuka Yoshishige, took part in the assault, Hachisuka crossed the river on 40 boats, beating off the defence from five guard boats, and attacked the castle as a land-based army of 300 came in from the rear. The castle was burned, and the site secured.

## The battle of Imafuku, 1614

On 26 November there took place a fiere skirmish to the north-east of the castle known as the battle of Imafuku. Imafuku was a village that commanded the approach to Osaka from that direction, and it was leyasu's intention to establish a fort there. To secure the area he dispatched Satake Yoshinobu at the head of 1500 men against

the Western forces, which consisted of 600 troops under two minor generals called Yado and Iida. The Satake army attacked in three ranks with a charge, and managed to drive the defenders out of Imafuku, killing lida. Realising what was happening, two armies from the Osaka garrison crossed the river as reinforcements. These were commanded by two of Osaka's ablest generals. Kimura Shigenarı and Gotö Mototsugu. When the moment was right, they made a sudden charge. The Satake men were forced to withdraw, and there were many casualties among Satake's vanguard. The main body of the Satake army only succeeded in holding on to Imafuku after recessing reinforcements from Uesugi Kagekatsu.

#### The battle of Shigeno, 1614

Uesugi Kagekatsu's army of 5000 had in fact already been engaged in hattle with 2000 Ösaka troops across the river at a place called Shigeno Reinforcements arrived from Niwa Nagashige and Horio Tadatoki, who were well supported by arquebus troops. Ieyasu ordered Horio to take over from Uesugi to let him rest, which received the harsh retort that the Uesugi samurai had the tradition of never retiring once a fight had started.

## The battle of Kizugawa, 1614

Three days later, on 29 November, two separate naval operations took place. Following a reconnaissance of the area to the west of the castle beside the Kizu river, levasu ordered Ishikawa Tadafusa to canture the fort that controlled this section. Ishikawa mounted an elaborate amphibious operation, co-ordinating a crossing by his army of 2300 from the west, with an attack from the east and south by Hachisuka Yoshishige. each facilitated by crossing waterways on boats. The fort succumbed rapidly.

#### The battle of Toda-Fukushima, 1614

Meanwhile, at nearby Toda-Fukushima, the guard ships of the Tokugawa, under the overall command of Kuki Moritaka (son of the late admira) Yoshitaka), took advantage of a heavy rain storm to attack Ono Harunaga. The Eastern ships had 1600 men on board against Ono's 800, and their victory prevented any support being given to the other operation under Ishikawa.

#### A SAMURALIS SAVED BY HIS ARMOUR

The Sengoku Period saw the introduction of European cuirasses as breastplates for Jananese armour Known as nanhan-dō Chody armour of the Southern Barbarians'), they had the great advantage of providing armour that was proof to the bullets fired from that other European innovation: the arquebus. There is an interesting confirmation of the efficacy of nanban-do in Naruse Keizu (genealogy of the Naruse). Naruse Yoshimasa served as a messenger in the Maeda contingent for the Tokugawa side during the winter campaign of Osaka. In 1614 he took part in an attack on the Sanada-maru, the barbican which bore the name of the Osaka commander Sanada Vukimura. The account tells us:

"Yoshimasa spurred on his horse, and when he reached the edge of the most a choig (bird gum) was fired from within the fort. It struck Yoshimasa on his left side, and he fell from his horse. His genin Musa Umanosuke, and others, came to pick him up as he was wounded. However, because he was wearing a nanban voroi, it did not penetrate to his body."

The 'bird gun' was a large-calibre piece. We know this from the fact that the armour still exists and is a prized possession of the Naruse family. It has a European (nanban) iron breastplate, and on the left side bears a massive and most impressive dent. There is a photograph of it in Rekishi Gunzo Vol. 40 Osaka no Ran. (1994: 50)

# The siege of the Sanada-maru, 1614

The final major action of the winter campaign was the attack on the Sanada-maru on 4 December. This was a fort and earthwork built out from the southern defences as a barbican, and named after its commander, Sanada Yukimura. The attack was led by the troops of Matsudaira Tadanao, grandson of Tokugawa leyasu. They were followed close behind by the li samurai, who assaulted the wall further along and managed to scale the ramparts until a counter-attack by Kimura Shigenari drove them back. In all, 10,000 Eastern troops



attacked the barbican, but were held off by Sanada's 7000. Other skirmishes took place when the defenders sallied out to surprise the Tokugawa army. One such night attack was launched out of the castle's eastern walls across the Honmachi bridge on 17 December, illuminated by lanterns. This was a minor victory for the Osaka army, as their force of 150 men under Ban Dane'emon and Hanawa Naoyuki defeated the Tokugawa troops in the siege lines. The winter campaign continued with a long bombardment of the castle by the Tokugawa, at the end of which a spurious peace treaty was drawn up, which greatly weakened the castle's defences

Sanada Yukimura was the commander in chief of Osaka castle during its defence of 1614-15. This statue of him stands on the site of the Sanadamary the earthwork harbican which was built out of the southern defences of Osaka, and faced fierce attacks during the winter campaign. His helmet bears deer antlers, and he wears a jinbaori (surcoat) and carries a saihai (war-fan)

### The summer campaign of Osaka, 1615

The Tokugawa army reopened the siege of Ösaka in May 1615. The castle defences were much reduced, but the parrison had actually increased. A number of battles took place around Osaka over the following month.

## The battle of Kashii, 1615

The Ösaka garrison first took the offensive, ambushing various contingents of the Tokugawa army while they were still on their way to the castle. These actions included one operation many mules from Ösaka, when Öno Hanınaga, Hanawa Naoyuki and Okabe Noritsuna attempted to capture the castle of Wakayama in Kij province. The castle was owned by Asano Nagaakira, most of whose troops had already moved up to the Osaka siege lines. The Western force was of 3000 men. Realising that their enemies were perilously far from support, the castle garrison of 5000 men boldly moved out to meet them in battle at Kashii. Hanawa and Okabe were both killed in the vanguard, forcing Ono to withdraw to the safety of the Ösaka garrison.

## The battle of Dômyôii, 1615

On 6 June the battle of Domyoji began the last offensive of the Ösaka campaign. It was fought to the south-east of the castle along the road to Nara. The objective of the Western army was to control this area ready for their major assault. They proved to be vastly outnumbered, as Goto Mototsugu's 6400 men found themselves opposed by major troop concentrations of 23,000 under Date Masamune and others. Goto quickly abandoned the operation and pulled back, rallying his men to the nearby high ground of Komatsuvama, although hindered by dense fog. Reinforcements sent to them by the Osaka garrison found it difficult to make contact in the fog, and Goto Mototsugu, one of the ablest generals on the Ösaka side, was killed in action. The fastern army pressed on across the Yamato river, where they met a second wave from the castle numbering 12,000. Matsudaira Tadalai, and Mizuno Katsushige attacked Mori Katsunaga, while to the south Date Massimune's army engaged Sanada Yukimura. Eventually all armise disenged after heavy casualties, with no victory recognised on either side.

### The battle of Yao, 1615 That same day two further engagements took

piace about 8 km to the north of Domyöji at Yao and Wäkac This was a low-lying and damp area where the rivers. Nagase and Tamagushi flowed. Here the Western army under Chōsokabe Morichika, with 5300 men, took on Todo Takatora, with 5000. The Todo army was victorous, but suffered the loss of Takatora's sons Takanori and Ujikatsu. The head-viewing ceremony was held in a local temple, and the bloodstained floor is now preserved as the temple's ceiling.

#### The battle of Wakae, 1615

A similar victory occurred at nearby Wakae. Here the Westerners had 4700 men under the erithusiastic Kimura Shigemari, who received a spirited charge from I Naotaka. This strack is depicted on a panted screen in Hikone castle. Both of Kimura's forward flank units collapsed under the carally assault. Kimura Shigemari was pursued and killed, and when had the control of the carally assault was proceed to the part was noted that the control of the control

#### The battle of Tennoji, 1615

With the battle of Tennôji the siege of Osaka ended, thus making his engagement effectively the last samurat field battle in Japanese history. The Toyotomy lapin was that Sanada Yukimura and Ono Harungaga would deliver a frontal assault on the Tokugawa main body, who would be held in combat while Akashi Morshige swept round to deliver an attack from the rear. When all the Tokugawa troops were engaged, Hildyori would lead the garrison out of the castle, bearing aloft the golden gourd standard of his late father.

The Tokugawa army had occupied positions some distance from the remaining walls, with Honda Tadatomo in the vanguard. Date Masamune on the left flank, and It Naotaka and Maeda Toshitsune on the right. The rearguard was Asano Nagaakira, whose troops touched the sea coast, The distance between the armies gave the Osaka contingent ample opportunity for careful grouping and timing to coincide with Akashi's sweep round. But controlled tactical manoeuvres were not to the liking of ronin, and as soon as Mori Katsunaga's men came within sight of the Tokugawa vanguard, they opened up on them with their arquebuses. Fearing lest his careful plans would be ruined by this impetuosity. Sanada ordered them to cease firing, but they only redoubled their efforts. Mori consulted Sanada, who agreed that the best way of resolving the difficulty was for an immediate fullscale attack, so as Mori Katsunaga led his men forward in a charge which broke through into the Tokugawa main body. Sanada Yukimura assaulted the Tokugawa left flank, and sent a messenger back to the castle with a request for Toyotomi Hideyori to join the battle at once. Here chance was on Hidevori's side, because even

though his men under Akashi were far from being able to deliver the rear attack, certain of the Tokugawa army appeared to be doing it for them. That at any tate was the conclusion drawn by many of the Tokugawa main body who saw their renguard under Asano wheel towards them. Cries of Trachery' went up from many throats, who feered that Asano had turned against them. In fact he had not, but Tokugawa lepass, humself was forced to join his men in the thick of the fighting to steady their nerves. Here, according to tradition, Sanada Yukimura engaged him in a very brief single combat, and wounded him with his spear blade in the kidneys.

It was Honda Tadatomo who saved the day for the Tokugawa, He led his troops in a charge against Sanada Yukimura. Sanada was driven back, and, physically echasiset, collapsed on to a camp stool. A certain samurai recognised him and made a challenge, but Sanada was to tired to reply, so the man sliced off his bead. This spectacular trophy of the head of the commander was proclaimed throughout the Tokugawa army, and the tide of the battle began to turn their way. Yet still the Osaka army did not give up hope, and in a series of desperate actions almost succeeded in reversing the trend. On a Harungaja's troops were holding the trend. On a Harungaja's troops were holding the trend. On a Harungaja's troops were holding

their own against the fougasse man low long and their own against the fougasse man low and if and the manufacture of the fougasse man low and the fougasse manufacture of the fougasse for the fougasse for the fougasse for the fougasse for the fougasse fougasse for the fougasse fougasse for the fougasse fougasse for the fougasse fougasse for the fougasse fougasse for the fougasse fouga

## The siege of Hara, 1637-8

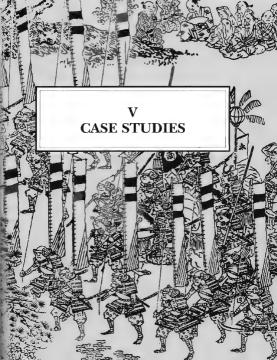
The siege of Hara castle was the main event of the Shimabara rebellion, fought with great determination by the people of the Shimabara peninsula against their hated daimyō, Matsukura Shigeharu, who frequently punished his peasants by dressing them in straw raincoats and setting fire to the straw. The rebellion broke out on 17 December 1637, and was soon being led by the charismatic figure of Amakusa Shirō. The uprising took on a considerable religious dimension, as the majority of the population were Christian, and had suffered increased persecution for their beliefs. On Shimabara 23,000 out of a total population of 45,000 are said to have joined in the revolt. Nearby areas, such as the Amakusa islands, followed in the uprising. The rebels, however, failed to capture either Shimabara or Tomioka castle, a portent of their eventual failure. Instead they fortified them selves in the dijapidated old castle of Hara on the Shimabara peninsula.

The stege of Hara was initially led by Italiura Shigemans, but his failure to take the fortress in spite of tunnelling, cataputis and ninja led the shogur to send Matsudiari Nobiusuna as a replacement. Appailed by this slight on his honour and ability, Takuru led an attack in person and was shot better, and even personaded a Dutch ship from the step of the ship of

Amakuss Shirō sent a deschument out in a raid. The attackers were beaten off, and their corpses disclosed to the Tokugawa troops the desperate nature of their plight, because the bodies of the dead were examined, and it was found that they were now eating only barley and seweed sexpept off the rocks at low tide. They also appeared to be in the advanced stages of malurition. A huge assult soon took place along the walls, and the long and bitter siege was eventually more than the same stages of the menfolk welding ports and pans. With the fall of Hara, the last serious opposition to the Tokugawa regime was overome.



The siege of Hara castle, 1638, from a hanging scroll in the Watanabe Museum, Totton. Note the Christian crosses on the banners, and the reproduction of the famous surviving flag from the Shimabara rebellion that shows angels adoring the Blessed Sacrament.



## CASE STUDIES

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#### PERSONAL COMBAT IN SAMURAI WARFARE 1160-85

The great tradition of personal combat, which persisted well into the Sengoku Period, is best illustrated in early chronicles like Heike Monogatari, where the norms of behaviour in such situations were being laid down.

The process usually began by proclaiming one's pedigree in a loud votce and having the challenge answered from within the enemy ranks by someone who was suitable to take on such an illustrious fighter. Brief examples may be found in the Hiele Monagaria recount of the battle of Ichinotani in 1184, when Minamoto samurai approach the Taira defence line and shore line

"Kumagai no Jirō Naozane of the province of Musashi, and his son Kojirō Naoie! First in the assault on Ichinotani!"

It was usual for the challenging warrior to add some detail about his former exploits. At Ichinotani again, Hirayama Sueshige proclaims his military record in the two rebellions that sparked the Gemoei Wars:

"Hirayama no Mushadokoro Sueshige of Musashi, who has won great renown by his prowess in the fighting of Högen and Heiji!"

On rare occasions the opposing commanders of two armies would seek each other out. In the Tathetki, which deals with the 'Wars Between the Courts' of the fourteenth century, the loyalist general Nutta Yoshisada appears to take the entire burden of the imperial cause on his shoulders as he challenges Ashikaga Takation.

"The disorder in the land is ceaseless, and for all too long the people, who are blameless, have known no peace. This is called a struggle between two lines of the impertal family, but in fact it is confrontation between two men. Yoshisada and Lord Taksuji, Rather than cause the suffering of many to achieve great merit for myself alone, I propose to settle the fight by myself, and hence come to this gate of my fortress to challenge Lord Taksuji to Single combat."

The most elaborate challenges included a detailed personal curriculum vitae:

"I am not such a great man as men go, but I am an inhabitant of Iga province, a follower of the Lord of Aki, and 28 years old. My name is Yamada Kosaburó Koreyuki. I am the grandson of Yamada no Shoji Vakisse, who was well known among no no no shoji Vakisse, who was well known among wat under the Lord of Bizen at the attack of Yoshito, Lord of Tsushima. My grandfather also captured innumerable mountain robbers and laghawymen I too have been many times in battle and made a name for muself."

A rich exchange of names occurs between Taira Motomori and Uno Chikaharu just before the Hogen Incident, the brief but bloody skirmish with which the Gempei Wars began. Taira Motomori proclaims himself as:

"The police lieutenant of Aki province, Tara Motomori, descended in the twelfth generation from emperor Kanmu, a distant relative in the eighth generation of the Taira general Masakado, grandson of the minister of punishments Tadamori, and second son of the governor of Aki, Taira Kiompri."

Uno Chikaharu, of the Minamoto side, counters with:

"I am a resident of Yamato province Uno no Shichiro Chikaharu, descended in the tenth generation from emperor Sewa, a distant relative of the satch grandson prince, five generations removed from the governor of Yamato, Orrichika, the younger brother of the governor of Settus, Ruikō, the grandson of the vere-minister of central affairs, Yoriharu, and eldest son of the governor of Shimotsuke, Chikahiro."

The classic individual combat of the Gempei Wars would invariably begin with the exchange of arrows, but would almost certainly finish with hand-to-hand fighting using the sword, or, more likely, the tanto (dagger) in a fierce grappling contest. While mounted and wearing a suit of armour built like a rigid box, the samurai was well defended but when unable to wield his how he was comparatively ungainly and unwieldy, and could only grapple in the most clumsy fashion from a horse. His defensive costume, while being not unduly heavy, was not designed to allow him to take the fight to the enemy, and was certainly not helpful in allowing a sword to be used from the saddle. However, if there was time to dismount successfully from a fallen horse, some excellent swordniay could be seen from samurai whose desire to survive overcame any disadvantages

posed by the weight or design of their armour. At

"Arikuni, having penetrated very deeply into the ranks of the foe, had his hores shot from under him, and then while he was flighting on foot, has helmet was struck from his head, so that he looked like a youth flighting with his long hair streaming in all directions. By this time his arrows were exhausted, so he drew his sword and laid about him mightly, until, perceed by seem or eight shafts, he met his death still on his feet and gelaring at his enemies."

At the battle of Ichinotani, the single combat between Etchu Zenji Moritoshi and Inomata Noritsuna began with unarmed grappling techniques, and ended with a dagger:

"Inomata immediately leapt upon him, snatched his dagger from his side, and pulling up the skirt of hit armour, stabed him so deeply three times that the hilt and fist went in after the blade. Having thus dispatched him he cut off his head..."

Victory in single combat did not necessarily mean the end of the individual warrior's engagement in battle. He would usually continue fighting, as exemplified by a cretain Kaneko fetada, who fought during the Högen incident: letada's explicit sums up much of the preceding paragraphs. He had a fight with two borthers. The combat developed into a wrestling match with daggers, at which letada triumphen.

"Although both Takama brothers were noted for their strength, letada got on top and held Shirō. and was about to take his head. At this point Takama Saburō, in turn, dropped on top and, trying to keep his brother from being killed, pulled at Kaneko's helmet to face him up and tried to take his head. Hereupon Kaneko held down the left and right arms of the enemy beneath him with his knees, vanked up the left armour skirt of the enemy on top, and turning upon him, stabbed him three times as if both hilt and fist should sink into him. When he flinched back, Kaneko cut off the head of the enemy beneath him and raising it stuck on his sword point, shouted, 'In the presence of Minamoto Tametomo of Tsukushi, famed these days as superhuman, letada has killed Takama Shiró and his brother'

Combat such as this is a far cry from the popular image of the noble warrior, but no one is



ashamed of the action, because Kaneko letada remounts his horse ready to fight again, proclaiming:

"I, Kaneko no Jūrō letada, a resident of Musashi provance, have come forth before the renowned Minamoto Tametomo of Tsukushi, and with my own hands have taken the heads of two mounted warriors. Observe this, both enemy and allies 'A feat rarely achieved either in ancient times or the present! — Jam the letada who wastse to bequeath his name to generations to come. If there are warriors among Tametomo's band who feel they

are my match, let them come and grapple with me."

Kaneko letada is in fact singled out as an example of samurai honour and prowess by the

"With his martial prowess, he has established his fame in this life. His loyalty will live throughout the ages, his name imprinted on future generations and his achievements bequeathed to his descendants."

author of Högen Monogatari:

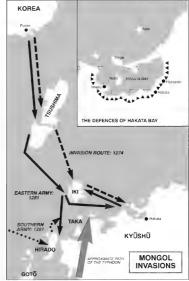
How many of his descendants, one wonders, shouted out these achievements of their illustrious ancestor Kaneko letada in the heat of a samurai battle?

#### FOREIGN ENEMIES - THE MONGOL INVASIONS

The Mongol invasions hold a unique place both in the history of samurai warfare and in the history of the development of Japanese identity. From a military point of view, the two attempts by Kublai

## Opposite page: Sinale combat usina a tantő (dagger) is shown in this detail from the Ehon Toyotomi Kunkóki. It depicts the hero Katő Kıyomasa who has disauised himself as a foot soldier (hence the discarded (ingasa) and has overpowered

a high-ranking enemv.



Khan to conquer lanan provide the first of only two illustrations from the whole of samurar warfare when the samurai were pitted against foreign enemies rather than their own kind. It is also the first occasion in samura; history when the samurai fought for Japan itself, instead of some narrow factional or clan interest.

The first Mongol invasion, carried out in 1274. was of such brief duration that were it not for the large numbers of troops involved, history might

well have recorded it as a raid rather than an invasion. In early 1274 Kublai Khan issued an order for the Koreans to build 900 shins, which were to transport an advance force of about 5000 Mongol troops, between 6000 and 8000 Koreans, and a main body of 15,000 Mongols, Chinese and lurchens. The crews, almost half of whom were Korean, consisted of 15,000 men. The journey from Pusan took two weeks, during which the Mongol force rayaged the islands of Tsushima and Iki, and probably also raided the Japanese coast of Hizen province, Landfall was made in the sheltered Hakata bay, where the modern city of Fukuoka now stands, Mongol detachments came ashore at various sites around the hav, and were met by the Japanese samurai.

The century which had passed between the end of the Gempei Wars and the launch of the first Mongol invasion had seen little recognisable change in samurai warfare. The ideal was still that of the individual and élite mounted archer testing his skills against a worthy opponent, so the great difficulty that the Mongol invasions produced for the samurai was the impossibility of communicating challenges to an opponent who did not speak Japanese. As the Hachiman Gudokun relates:

"According to our manner of fighting we must first call out by name someone from the enemy ranks, and then attack in single combat. But they took no notice at all of such conventions. They rushed forward all together in a mass, grappling with any individuals they could catch and killing them."

The quotation above confirms that the Mongol way of fighting was alien to the samurai ideal, and whereas we may dismiss any notion of the samural standing speechless and inactive when the Mongols did not respond, the implication of including this statement in the Hachiman Gudökun is surely that to the Japanese the Mongol way of warfare was not only regarded as different but was also thought to be inferior. The Mongols' advance and withdrawal to the accompaniment of drums, bells and shouted war cries alarmed the Japanese horses. The samurai were also faced with a different archery technique, whereby arrows were shot in huge clouds, rather than being used in long-range individual combat. Dense showers of arrows, some tipped with poison, were poured into the Japanese lines. Any individual combats that did take place were anonymous affairs, although there are several accounts of samurai attempting to seek out high-ranking Mongol warriors. In addition to these unusual ways of fighting, a unique feature of the Mongol attacks was the storm of explosive projectiles described elsewhere.

In spite of great bravery, by nightfall the Japanese had been driven back several kilometres inland to Dazaifu. The Mongols burned the Japanese dwellings, and also set fire to the great Hakozaki shrine. However, fortunately for the Japanese, the Mongols then chose not to spend the night on shore, but to return to their ships. Yet with this tactical withdrawal the first invasion concluded, because the armies never again left their ships for Japanese soil. Instead, during the night a fierce storm blew up which severely damaged the fleet lying at anchor. The Mongols immediately set sail back to Korea, taking one full month over the journey, having suffered the loss of 13,000 dead about one-third of their total including one high-ranking Korean general who was drowned.

This abrupt end to the first invasion has led several scholars to question some of the accepted details of the engagement. The destruction of the fleet by bad weather, which was to occur on a grand scale in the second invasion of 1281, has been doubted, one authority pointing out that late November, when the invasion occurred, is out of the typhoon season. Was the sudden conclusion to the first invasion no more than a planned ending to a reconnaissance in force (a common Mongol strategy), with the story of the storm grafted on from the account of the second invasion to make it look less humiliating from both the Japanese and Korean points of view? It is interesting to note that the Hachiman Gudökun does not mention a storm at all, and instead notes simply that the following morning the local people were surprised to find the terrible invaders completely gone except for one ship that had run aground. Korean sources, however, speak of a natural disaster, and a Japanese court diary notes:

"I heard that just when the enemy ships, several tens of thousands in number, appeared on the sea, a sudden gale arose and sent them all back, leaving some of them on land. It is also said that Otomo Yoriyasu had captured more than fifty enemy soldiers, all of whom were to be kept in captivity and forwarded to Kyöto later. As for the typhono, is it not a manifestation of divine protection?"

Two Shinto shrines were later rewarded for their part in obtaining divine protection, presumably because their prayers were believed to have brought about the storm.

The first Mongol invasion, therefore, lasted only one day, and lost one in three of its invading force. It is impossible to know how many of these were killed by the samural swords and arrows of the defenders, but if the storm theory is to be discounted, the proportion must have been very high indeed. By the brayery and martial skills of the samurai, this major raid, no matter how brief it may have been planned to be, was turned into a pyrrhic victory. Unsurprisingly, this is not how it appears in the sources from the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty of China. A biography of the general who was third in command of the invasion force speaks of him defeating a Japanese army of 100,000' Other sources note that the withdrawal was nurely tactical because the Mongols had run out of arrows

Kubiai Khan never regarded the first invason as a disaster. The next few years saw him procucupled with the conquest of southern China. The Japanese, by contrast, were on a state of alert. Religious services increased, and the symbolic Hakozais shrine was rebuilt. Valiant warriors, some 120 in all, were rewarded, and a coastal guard was mounted. One measure, that was never actually carried out, was a planned raid by Japan Tsunesake. That same year (1276) the construction began of a defensive wall around Hakata bay. The face of the well looking out to sea was of stone and over two metres high, while on the other sade it sloped down along an earther embankment.

The Mongol preparations for the second unsalon were carried out on a much larger scale than in 1274, and it is clear from the evidence that farming implements were included on board the ships that the Mongols intended a permanent occupation of Japanese land. Six hundred warships were ordered from southern China, in

addition to 900 from Korea. The invasion respon sibilities were divided between an eastern route army of 40,000 (northern Chinese, Mongol and Korean) and a southern Chinese army of 100,000. The two armies were to join forces near Iki Island.

The plan for the two armies to join up before they attacked did not materialise. Instead, the eastern route army attacked Tsushima and Iki and then attempted to land in Hakata bay. As before, the ferocity of the Japanese defence forced them back. The Mongols established themselves on two islands in the bay, one of which, Shiga, was connected to the mainland by a narrow spit of land. From these islands they launched attacks against the Japanese for about a week, while the Japanese responded with night raids against the Mongol ships. The Japanese boats, holding between ten and fifteen samurai, would close with a Mongol ship under cover of darkness, then lower their own masts to make a bridge for boarding. The samural would then engage in hand-to-hand fighting with their swords. On one occasion 30 samurai swam out to a Mongol ship, decapitated the entire crew, and then swam back. A certain Kusano firò led a raid in broad davlight and set fire to a ship even though his left arm was cut off. Kono Michiari also led a daytime raid with two boats. Thinking the Japanese were approaching to surrender, the Mongols allowed them to come close, at which they were boarded and a highranking general was captured. Attempts were also made to dislodge the Mongols from Shiga island.

The Mongol response to the raids was to stretch chains between their ships and shoot stones by catapults to sink the Japanese vessels. But at the end of this phase of the invasion, the bravery of the samurai, unaided by meteorological intervention, led the Mongol fleet to withdraw to Iki island, there to await the arrival of the southern Chinese contingent. By the early part of the following month, this huge armada had begun arriving at various parts of the Japanese coast from the Goto islands in the west to Hakata. They eventually made rendezvous to the south of Iki, near the island of Takashima, where the Japanese launched a hold raid which deserves the title of the battle of Takashima. The fighting lasted a full day and night, but the Japanese were eventually driven off by sheer weight of numbers. A massive attack



During the second attempt to invade Japan by the Monaols, the Japanese samurai took the fight to the Mongol shins in a series of hit-and-run raids under the cover of darkness. This painting is in the Monaol Invasion Museum in Fukuoka, and is based upon a section of the Moko Shūrai Ekotoba (Mongol Invasion Scroll).

on Hakata bay now looked inevitable, but never happened, because within days of the Japanese attack at Takashima, a typhoon blew up. This was the famous kami-kaze, the wind of the gods, Unlike the first typhoon, this one is well documented, and was devastating in its effects. Korean casualties were 7592 out of 26,989, nearly 30 per cent, but the Mongol and Chinese figures were much higher, between 60 per cent and 90 per cent. Forced by the Japanese raids to stay in their ships, and unable to drop anchor in protected harbour waters, the Mongol fleet was obliterated. Tens of thousands of men were left behind with the wreckage as the remains of the fleet headed home. and most of these were killed in Japanese attacks over the following few days.

The failure of the Mongol invasions illustrated a great weakness among this all-conquering dynasty of Khans; an inability to cross water to wage war. During the Mongol subjugation of Korea, the Korean capital was moved temporarily to a small offshore island, which the Mongols repeatedly failed to capture. For the Japanese invasion, therefore, they had to depend upon naval support from conquered peoples, who may well have been reluctant to give their all for their own conquerors

To the Japanese, the brayery of the samurai during the 'little ship' raids quickly became subsumed, and almost forgotten, under the gratitude for the divine gift of the kamikaze, whereby, to quote from a religious account, a 'divine storm rose in mighty force and scattered the enemy ships'. In fact, no rewards were granted to samurai until 1286, and one samurai, Takezaki Suenaga, had the famous Mongol Invasion Scroll painted to illustrate his own exploits. Yet the threat from overseas continued for many years, and in 1301 it was believed that an invasion fleet had been seen off the coast of Satsuma province. The samurai of the Hakata area providing coastal defences were taken off alert only in 1312.

### THE STRATEGIC IMPERATIVE -THE FIGHT FOR MOJI CASTLE

During the Sengoku Period, the long-term achievement of strategic aims was frequently accomplished by a series of comparatively minor tactical accomplishments. Accounts of grand strategy. when they are examined in detail, may still be expressed in the overall goal of the control of several provinces, but are often reduced in practice to the slow and methodical capture of small mountain-top fortresses. Thus the expansion of the Höjö family out of the Izu peninsula with the capture of Odawara in 1494, to the taking of Edo castle in 1524, breaks down into a series of successful sieges and raids

The castle of Moii, built on the northern tip of Kyūshū island, provides an even more dramatic example of grand strategy being reduced to a series of small and mundane engagements. However, instead of the Hojo's remorseless progress, this tiny fortress was to witness a movement one way and then another, as it changed hands no less than five times within a space of four years, and at one time witnessed an almost unique event in samurai warfare the intervention of Europeans.

Moit's location provides the clue to its great strategic importance. It was built at the narrowest point where the straits of Shimonoseki divide Japan's two main islands of Honshu and Kyūshū. On the Honshu side, the Akamagu shrine marks the site of one of the most decisive conflicts in Japanese history: Dan no Ura. This was the epic sea battle fought in 1185 when the Taira were finally defeated by the Minamoto, and the sea was stained red with the blood of the slain and the dye from the red flags of the Taira. Nowadays there is a suspension bridge across the straits, while three tunnels, for rail, road and foot, lie beneath the sea. The promontory on which Moii was built juts out into the strait, and commands the passage in each direction as the Cibraltar of the Inland Sea. It is 175 metres above sea level at its highest point.

A castle was first built here by Ouchi Yoshinaga, the brother of Otomo Sorin Yoshishige, Yoshinaga was chosen to continue the Quchi line when the family were wiped out by the revolt of their vassal. Sue Harukata, Sue Harukata was in turn defeated by Môri Motonari at the famous battle of Mivalima in 1555. This left the Mori free to expand, and Ouchi Yoshinaga, who had established Moii castle but was unable to take advantage of its protection, was forced to commit suicide as the Möri troops advanced upon him in

As the Ötomo base was northern Kvůshů. Moii stood at the extreme edge of their territory and represented a challenge to any daimyo who wished to cross the straits and engage them. The challenge was accepted by Möri Motonari, and in June 1558 his troops stormed Moit castle and took it. thus giving them a footbold in northern Kyūshū. A certain Niho Uemondayu was given the honour of defending this valuable prize. Not surprisingly, the Otomo concentrated enormous resources on

winning back Moji, and Otomo Yoshishige led an assault in person in September 1559. Niho Uemondayu, isolated from the main Môri forces across the strait, was heavily defeated, and the Otomo once again held all of this northern Kviishu territory.

The fall of Mois to the Otomo naturally prompted the Mori family to attempt its immediate recapture. Kobayakawa Takakage, the son of Mori Motonari, led the Mori navy in an amphibious operation that same year. The Mori troops, whose vanguard was commanded by Ura Munekatsu. landed west of Moji, half-way between the castle and the present-day city of Kokura. Ura led his men in a rapid march east, surprising the Ōtomo by their appearance from this unexpected direction. Many heads were taken, and the castle returned to the possession of the Mori. Within the space of three years Moii had passed from the Quehi to the Otomo, from the Otomo to the Mori. from the Mori back to the Otomo, and then from the Otomo back to the Mori again. This time the Mori were determined that Moji should be their permanent possession.



Môri Motonari, the great daimyō of the inland Sea, is shown in this hanging scroll in Osaka castle. His kimono bears numerous reproductions of the Möri mon.

The great asset that the Mori possessed was their fleet, so that when the Otomo launched the furious assault against Moir that all had been expecting, the garrison held out desperately while the Môri navy sailed south down the eastern coast of Kyūshū and landed at Nakatsu. Here they managed to wrest control of the main road from Bungo province, the Otomo territory, along which all the supplies for the army were transported. With his lines of communication cut. Otomo Yoshishige abandoned the attack on Moji castle, and did not return to the fray until 1561.

When 1561 came, the task of recapturing Moit for the Otomo was entrusted to Yoshishige's brother Ötomo Yoshihiro. The base for the operation was to be the castle of Kokura. 12 km west of Moii. Yoshihiro realised that the greatest challenge he faced was from the Mori fleet, so he decided to take on the factor of naval support in a novel and dramatic way. At that time a number of Portuguese ships were anchored at the port of Funai in Bungo, having been welcomed there by Ötomo Yoshishige. His contacts with the friendly Europeans had boosted their trade, and they were now to use that relationship in a way never seen before in Japanese history. Otomo Yoshishige invited the Portuguese to assist him by bombarding Moji castle from the sea. For the Portuguese to accept was a very risky step, which threatened to imperil the delicate relationship they had built up with the Japanese. To be seen to be so partisan towards a friendly daimyo that they would assist him in war against a neighbour was an act that could threaten the existence of other traders and missionaries elsewhere in lapan. It was particularly risky to be seen attacking the Mori, as Yamaguchi, within what was now Mori territory, was a well-established centre of Japanese Christianity. Yet the Portuguese agreed, and three ships sailed northwards into the straits of Shimonoseki and opened fire against the defenders of Moii

Each ship was of between 500 and 600 tons, with 300 crew and 17 or 18 cannon. With their guns at as high an elevation as was possible, Moji was bombarded. The effect on the garrison was dramatic. Firearms had been known in Japan for less than twenty years, and never before had Japanese troops been subjected to the firepower of European ships. The cannonballs smashed the wooden and bamboo fences and caused many casualties, but the effect on the castle morale was devastating. Most would almost certainly have fallen immediately, had it not been for the fact that the Portuguese ships had not come to Japan expecting to be used in warfare, but were armed merely for self-defence. As a result, the Ötomo's foreign allies very soon ran out of cannonballs. Once their ammunition was exhausted, they had no further role to play, and turned to sail back to Funai

The Portuguese action had nonetheless served a very useful purpose in keeping the parrison occupied while the relatively undisturbed Otomo army surrounded the promontory on which Mori was built. Smaller numbers of Otomo troops had also been able to move round among the rocky cliffs that faced northwards towards Honshu. From across the straits at this point, the Mori could only watch helplessly as the bombardment continued, but once the ships withdrew, the Möri commanders, Kobayakawa Takakage and Môri Takamoto, realised that their command of the area had not been permanently challenged. They decided to reinforce the garrison by sea, and in a dramatic move. Takakage and a certain Horitate Iki-no-kami led a crossing in small boats with naval support from Murakami Takevoshi and the main Môri fleet. The army rowed across in the manner of a suicide squad, and by fierce fighting the Mori troops managed to land. They pierced the Otomo lines, which were weakest at this point, and entered Moji castle to reinforce and reinspire its garrison

The rest of the Ötomo siege lines were undisturbed, but realising the mettle of the Môri, and regretting that the Portuguese ships were unlikely to return, Otomo Yoshishige ordered an all-out assault on Moii within the next few days. The attack was launched on 10 October 1561. The command of the Moii garrison had passed to the redoubtable Kobayakawa Takakage. conducted several sallies in person out of the castle gates and into the Otomo lines. The Mori force outside the castle were led from across the straits by Ura Munekatsu and Kodama Narikata. under the overall command of Mori Takamoto, Ura and Kodama led the Mori fleet across the sea along the coast from Moii, taking the besiegers in the flank with a bitterly contested landing.

This proved to be the decisive action. Ura Munekatsu conducted the assault in person, and attracted the attention of many Otomo troops. eager to gain his head. The most prestigious opponent to face him was the Otomo general Imi Danio Saemon, who engaged his élite rival in single combat. At first Ura Munekatsu was struck in the face by Imi's spear, the blade cutting his cheek near his nose, but Ura hit back, and killed Imi with his spear. This was a tremendous boost to the morale of the Mori force, whose spirits lifted, and they began to cut into the Ötomo besiegers with renewed vigour. Realising that the fall of the castle was now an impossibility, Ōtomo Yoshishige ordered a general withdrawal, which was carried out at the dead of night. Moji was left to the Mori family, and remained a long-term embarrassment to the Otomo, whose attentions were subsequently to be directed against new enemies to the south in the shape of the Shimazu family.

Ötomo Yoshishige became a monk under the name of Sörin the following year, but he never lost his friendship with the Portuguese and accepted baptism in 1784. Net even this was insufficient to persuade the Europeans to repeat their risky strategy of translating their support for a daimy into military intervention. It is true that Durch Simmabiar rebelling of 1618, but by the Chiest Chiesting of 1618, but by the Chiesting of 1618, but of 1618, but of 1618 and world about offending anyone. The Môri therefore remain unique as the only samural clan to have suffered bombardment from Fortuguese ships during the time of civil wars.

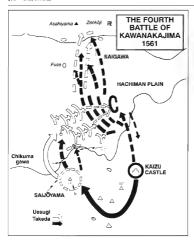
## BATTLEFIELD CONTROL - THE FOURTH BATTLE OF KAWANAKAJIMA, 1561

The fourth battle to be fought at Kawanakajima between the Takeda and the Useug produced the largest percentage casualty figures for both sides of any battle in the Sengoku Period. It is also worth studying for its complex tactical manoeuvring, much of which was carried out under cover of dakhness.

The Kawanakajima plain is an area of flatland where the territories of Uesugi Kenshin and Takeda Shingen met. It is triangular in shape and surrounded on all sides by mountains. To the north of the plain the Saigawa flows almost due east, and makes a natural northern boundary. The wider and stronger Chikumagawa flows from south-west to north-east, where it is joined by the Saigawa, skirting closely the southern mountain range, and thereby restricting an army's access to the plain from any southerly direction. Just to the south of the Chikumagawa, Takeda Shingen maintained a fortress. Kaizu castle, an old place which he had rebuilt after the invasion of Shinano, Kaizu was the Takeda forward position against the Uesugi. North of the Saigawa, on the edge of the northern mountains, is the great Buddhist temple of Zenköii which was effectively a Uesugi possession, and is now surrounded by the modern city of Nagano. In all, five engagements were fought at Kawanakajima, of which the fourth, contested in 1561, was one of the bloodiest and most spectacular battles in Japanese history.

In September 1461 Uesugi Kenshin left his headquarters of Kasugayama castle at the head of 18,000 soldiers, determined to destroy Shingen once and for all. Kasugayama was about 70 km due north from Kawanakajima. His objective was Kaizu. Kenshin did not make his base at the Zenkön, but decided to threaten Kaizu from nearer at hand, on high ground of his own choosing, So, leaving about a quarter of his troops in the Zenköni. Kenshin crossed the Saigawa and the Chikumagawa, and took up a position on Saijōyama, a mountain to the west of the castle which forms a north-westerly-pointing spur of the southern chain. Here his army looked down on Kaizu. He strengthened Saijovama with field fortifications, and began to wait patiently for any move from the Takeda

The Katzu garrison, which numbered no more than 150 mounted samura and their followers, appear to have been taken completely by surprise by Kenshin's move. They were under the command of Kösaka Danjo Masanobu, one of Shingen's Twenty-Four Generals', Kazu was 130 km from Tsutsujiganska, Shingen's fortress in Kofu, but the well-organised system of signal fires, described elsewhere, enabled Kösaka Danjo to transmit to his lord in less than two hours the news that Kenshin had advanced. Useugi Kenshin made no



Relow: The Kuruma Gakari formation used by Liesuai Kenshin at Kawanakajima.



attempt to prevent the message from getting through. His threat to Kaizu was merely the bait that would encourage Shingen to bring a large army to the foot of Saiiovama, where Kenshin could fall upon him.

The moment that Shingen received the signal, he gave orders for the Kai-based army to mobilise. The position was very serious. His main fear was that Kenshin would take Kaizu, which controlled communications north on to the plain of Kawanakajima, and from Kawanakajima south through the mountain passes. Shingen took personal command of a host of 16,000 men. They

marched in two sections, rejoining near Ueda, and continued north on the west bank of the Chikumagawa, which here flows in a northerly direction. No doubt divining Kenshin's intentions, he kept the Chikumagawa on his right flank, always between him and Saiiovama, until he reached the ford of Amenomiya, where he nitched camp with the river between him and Kenshin's position. It had taken them 24 days to reach Kawanakajima.

Neither army made a move. Both realised that for a battle to succeed against the other there had to be an element of surprise to throw the adversary off-balance. So Shingen struck camp, crossed

the Chikumagawa in front of Satiovama, and marched his army straight into Kaizu. The numbers of his troops, swollen by reinforcements from Shinano, had by now grown to about 20,000. but this vast host was not to remain for long packed into the castle. Shingen, or rather his 70vear-old gun-bugyō (army commissioner), Yamamoto Kansuke, had plans. The chronicle Köyö Gunkan makes the analogy with the woodpecker, which strikes its beak on the bark of a tree. and when the insects rush out through the hole in the bark, the bird gobbles them up. Kösaka Daniö Masanobu, the keeper of Kaizu, was to play the part of the woodpecker. With a force of 8000 men, he was to climb Saijovama from the rear by night. and attack the Uesugi positions. This would drive the Uesugi army down the north side of the mountain, across the Chikumagawa at the ford of Amenomiva and into the waiting muzzles and sharp blades of Shingen's main body. Shingen would have left Kaizu at midnight crossed the river on the far side of Kaizu from Sauovama, and taken up a prepared battle formation at Hachimanbara in the centre of the flatland of Kawanakajima, all under the cover of darkness and in total secrecy. Kenshin's array would therefore be caught between two samurai armies as dawn broke, and utterly destroyed.

The moves began at midmight of the day selected. Takeds Shingen led 8000 men out of Katzu, and across the Chikumagawa to Hachiman-bara, a march of about four kilometres. Here he drew up his army in the battle formation known as kakuyoku, or 'crare's wing'. The mere fact that the Takeda arrangement was carried out in almost total darkness suggests that hours must have been spent training the Takeda army to move quickly into pre-arranged positions.

Unknown to Shingen, however, Uesugi Kenshin had not been idle. His scotus no Salijovana, or perhaps vigilant spies sent down to Kaizu, reported seeing signs that Shingen was making a move. Kenshin guessed what the plan might be, and planned a counter-move, also to be carried out at dead of night. In total secrecy Uesugi Kenshin descended from Salijovama by its western flanks. Intered of Theeing before Könska's dawn attack, the Uesugi army crept carefully down the mountain. To deaden the nose of movement, his horses' To deaden the nose of movement, his horses'

hooves and bits were padded with cloth, and as Shingen moved to Hachimanbara Kenshin likewise crossed the Chikumagawa, in his case by the ford of Amenomiya, and entered Kawanakajima somewhat to the west of Shingen's position. As dawn broke, the Takeda army peered through the dispersing must foul full the light gray more fileing across their front, but bearing down upon them head-on in a fierce charge.

It was a carefully organised attack, which the Uesugi must have practised. As one unit became weary it was replaced by another, a method recorded in the Kôyô Gunkan as kuruma gakari, or 'winding wheel'. Leading the Uesugi vanguard was a certain Kakizaki Kageie, one of the Uesugi 'Twenty-Eight Generals'. His unit of mounted samurai crashed into the Takeda unit commanded by Takeda Nobushige, who died in the fierce hand-to-hand fighting which followed. As Kakizaki's unit withdrew to rest, they were replaced by fresh hands of mounted samural who kept up the pressure. Takemata Hirotsuna led his followers against the veteran Takeda leaders Naito Masatovo and Morozumi Masakivo, and was knocked clean off his horse, the force of the blow as he hit the ground dislodging his helmet. Once again the Uesugi tactic of rotating the front-line troops was put into operation, and Takemata Hirotsuna withdrew to be replaced by another.

Yamamoto Kansuke soon realised that his carefully made plans had failed. He accepted full responsibility for the apparent disaster and resolved to make amends by dying like a time samuria. Taking a long spear in his hands, he charged alone into the midst of the Uesugi samural, where he fought fiercely until, overcome by bullet wounds, and wounded in 80 places on his body, he retired to a grassy knoll and committed hara-kin:

Meanwhile Takeda Shingen, seated on his folding camp-stool, was trying desperately to control his harased army from his command post. Discipline was pool, and the kakuyoku was holding up well, even though it had not been designed as a defensive formation. But great danger was at hand. The enemy had by now reached the Takeda headquarters stroops and Shingen's personal bodyguard. Shingen's Sonsonal bodyguard. Shingen's son Takeda Yoshinobu was wounded, and at this point there occurred one of the most famous instances.

of single combat in samurai history. According to the Kövö Gunkan. Uesugi Kenshin himself came bursting into the curtained enclosure of Takeda Shingen's headquarters. He swung his sword at Shingen, who did not have time to draw his own sword, but rose from his camp-stool and parried the blows as best he could with his heavy war fan. which he had been using for signalling. He received three cuts on his body armour, and took seven on the war-fan until one of his retainers. Hara Ōsumi-no-kami, came to his aid and attacked the horseman with his spear. The blade glanced off Kenshin's armour, making the spear shaft strike the horse's rump, which caused the beast to rear. By now others of Shingen's guard had rallied to their master's side, and Kenshin was driven off.

One by one the Takeda samurai fell. After Shingen's brother, and Yamamoto Kansuke, there followed Morozum: Masakiyo, who had suffered the first assault, Yet in spite of the firere rotating attacks by the Uesuga army, the Takeda mann body held firm. Obl Saburbohe i fought back against Kakizaki's samurai. Anayama Nobukimi destroyed Shibata of Echiqo, and actually succeeded in forcing the Uesuga army back towards the Chilumagawa, and of course, while this surprese attack to many and the course of the course while this surprese attack. Nosaka Danjo Masanobu had arrived at the summit of Salivama.

Their advance had been conducted in great stealth, and no doubt the silence that greeted them was put down to their skill in failing to attract the attention of Kenshin's sentries. They soon realised what had happened. The Uesug position was deserted, and they could hear the noise of battle conting from the plain to the north. They immediately descended Sajulyama by the paths that led the same route that they had planned should be the same route that they had planned should be the one that Kenshin would choose in panic.

Now the detached Takeda force flew down to the ford to hurry to the aid of Shungen's main body. Us-sugi Kenshin had prudently left the ford of Amenominy aguarded by a detachment of 3000 men under one of his most reliable generals, Amakazu, Kagemochi. Here took place possibly the most desperate fighting of the day, with victory going eventually to the Takeda force. When Kösaka and his men forced their way acruss the ford. the stage was set to put into reverse all the triumph that had so far been Kenshin's, but would they be in time? The Takeda detached force poured across the river against the rear of the Uesugi samural, who were now caught between the arms of the pincers, just as the late Yamamtot Kansuke had olannet.

Soon the Takeda re-established control. A group of soldiers managed to recover from the Hesugi trophy hunters the heads of Shingen's brother Nobushige and Morozumi Masakiyo, and by mid-day a defeat had been turned into a victory. The Takeda side counted 3117 enemy heads taken, and Shingen held a triumphant head-viewing ceremony. On the morning of the following day, a time of truce. Uesugi Kenshin sent three of his generals. Nane Amakazu and Usami, to hum what remained of their encampment on Saiiovama. It would appear that Takeda Shingen made no attempt to stop them, nor to interfere with Kenshin's subsequent withdrawal beyond the Saigawa to the Zenkōji, and, a few days later, back to Echigo province itself. Not that the Takeda army was in much better shape than its opponents. The Uesugi had suffered /2 per cent casualties, and the Takeda, the supposed victors, lost 62 per cent, including several of their most able leaders, in one of the largest encounters of sixteenth-century Japan.

## THE CHRISTIAN DISASTER -THE BATTLE OF MIMIGAWA, 1578

The battle of Mimigawa was one of the largest encounters ever fought by the mighty Shimazu family of Satsuma province in southern Kyūshū, and their most complete victory. It was also the most serious defeat suffered by the Christian Ottono family, and effectively curtailed their power in Kyūshū, Mimigawa also provides an interesting case study in samurat wafera es at contains several elements noted elsewhere in this work: the belief in omens, a detailed muster roll, and a neat use of the Shimazu's well-rehearsed tactical decoy system.

By the year 1577, the Ötomo and the Shimazu were the two most powerful families in Kyūshū. Ötomo Sōrin had retired as daimyō in 1576, passing on his rule to his son Yoshimune. At the same time, the Shimazu had been steadily pressing northwards out of their home province of Satsuma. Itô Yoshisuke finally capitulated in 1576, and his heir Yoshikata sought refuge with the Ottomo

In May 1578 the Ötomo began to move south to challenge the Shimazu. They rapidly destroyed the Shimazu's ally Tsuchimochi Chikanari at his fortress of Matsuo, and Ōtomo Sörin laid plans to move his capital south to this location. The Otomo supporters advised strongly for a cautious approach, but this was not to Sorin's liking. He had received baptism into the Christian faith at the end of August, the most prominent Japanese ever to be converted by the Jesuits, and during the campaign into Hviga he was to demonstrate his lordly Christian style in no uncertain fashion. As his army advanced, the newly Christian Otomo army destroyed all Buddhist temples and Shintö shrines along their way. We do not have an eve-witness account of these activities, but they probably differed little from the typical actions of another prominent Christian convert, the daimyō Ōmura Sumitada (baptised as Bartholomeo), who ceded Nagasaki to the lesuits. The lesuit Father Luis Frois wrote the following:

"As Dom Bartholomeo had gone off to the wars. it so happened that he passed on the way an idol, Marishiten by name, which is their god of battles. When they pass it, they how and pay reverence to it, and the pagans who are on horseback dismount as a sign of their respect. Now the idol had above it a cockerel. As the tono (daimyō) came there with his squadron he had his men stop and ordered them to take the idol and burn it together with the whole temple; and he took the cockerel and gave it a blow with the sword, saying to it, 'Oh, how many times have you betraved me!' And after everything had been burnt down, he had a very beautiful cross erected on the same spot, and after he and his men had paid very deep reverence to it, they continued on their way to the wars."

Similar activities by the Otomo did little to endear them to the inhabitants of Hyōga, and caused grave disquiet among the unconverted allies who made up much of his own army. Unlike the Shimazu, whose bonds of loyalty and family relationship were tight, much of the Otomo alliance was a loose coalition. In fact, neither Otomo leader, the retired Sorin or the heir Yoshimune, were leading the army. That task had been left to Sörin's brother-in-law Tawara Chikataka

It was not long before the Otomo had advanced beyond the Mimigawa (literally 'ear river') into Shimazu territory, where they felt full of confidence, having received such little opposition to their move south. Twenty-five kilometres to the south of the Mimigawa was the castle of Takajō, situated on a rocky plateau between the rivers Takaiogawa (now the Omarugawa) and the Kiribaragawa, Its position made it a naturally strong fortress, and it was held for Shimazu Yoshihisa by his retainer Yamada Arinobu and a garrison of 500 men. On 20 October the Ötomo set up camp on high ground to the east of the castle, across the Kiribaragawa. Here they set up a gun position, using a large cannon obtained from the Portuguese and nicknamed 'kunikuzuri' ('destroyer of provinces'), to bombard the castle. The Ötomo troops commenced a siege, which they expected to be a brief one, but the word had got out to the Shimazu headquarters, and soon a large Shimazu army was on its way to Takaio to raise the siege.

The Shimazu garrison, hopelessly outnumbered, had been prepared to die at their posts, but were much encouraged by two events. The chroniche notes that the defenders were suffering from a shortage of drinking water. They had previously obtained it from a stream that ran outside the castle walls, but the besiegers had cut their means of access to it. One day, as if by a mirade, a spring appeared beneath the castle walls. The other mirade was the sudden arrand of voshihasi's younger brother Shimazu fehita, who entered the castle with reinforcements of 1000 men, and a monunced that the rest of the Shimazu army were on their way.

The Shimazu family records have a copy of the muster list for the army that advanced towards the Mimigawa.

"ASSESSMENT OF MILITARY SERVICE."

## Holders of one cho: 2 men, master and

follower; the master's service shall be personal. Holders of 2 cho: 3 men, master and followers Holders of 3 cho: 4 men, master and followers Holders of 4 cho: 5 men, master and followers Holders of 5 chô: 6 men, master and followers Holders of 6 chô: 7 men, master and followers Holders of 7 cho: 8 men, master and followers Holders of 8 chô: 9 men, master and followers Holders of 9 chô: 10 men, master and followers Holders of 10 chô: 11 men, master and followers

"The foregoing is the assessment based upon that for one chô of ricefield. The military service from 10 chô up to 100 chô and 1000 chô shall be performed on the same basis. It should be understood that armour is assessed at the rate of one suit for one cho."

Accounts vary of what happened during the approach. The chronicle Seihan Yashi tells us that Shimazu Yoshihisa was held up by a storm at Sadowara. Meanwhile Shimazu Tadahisa proceeded from northern Ösumi province where he met a detachment of Ōtomo troops and ambushed them. Five hundred were killed, and the Shimazu followed the survivors back towards their headquarters of Matsuvama. Shimazu Yoshihisa sent on his general lifun to help Tadahisa to storm Matsuyama. Yoshihisa followed up, and established himself at Takikawara near to Takaiō. The Shimazu then sent their vanguard on ahead while the rest of the army lay concealed from view. This was the classic Shimazu tactic, which they operated on eight occasions between 1527 and 1600. Having the advantage of a loval and cohesive army. rather than a collection of loose allies, the Shimazu were able to operate a decov system successfully. The decoy force would engage the enemy and then go into a false withdrawal. Other units of the Shimazii would be waiting concealed on the flanks or could even mount a rear attack as the enemy were drawn into the tran-

An interesting addition to the story is that on the night before the battle, Shimazu Yoshihisa had a dream, as a result of which he composed a poem:

> The enemy's defeated host Is as the maple leaves of autumn, Floating on the water Of the Takuta stream

This was naturally regarded as a good omen, and made known to the army.

The Shimazu drew up their battle lines. They had 30,000 men against the Ötomo's 50,000. In the centre was the experienced Shimazu Yoshihiro as the decoy. Shimazu Tadahira and Shimazu Tadamune were prepared to attack from the sides. Shimazu Yoshihisa provided the reserve from his headquarters unit on a hill to the rear. In a classic application of the Shimazu tactic of a false withdrawal, the Shimazu allowed the Otomo troops under Tagita Shigekane and Saeki Korenori to attack their centre, which held the impact of the assault, and then moved into a controlled retreat. The Shimazu withdrew back across the Takajōgawa, leading the Otomo on. Then the troops concealed on the flank moved in catching the Otomo on the same bank of the river. Shimazu Jehisa and Yamada Arinobu sallied down from Takajō castle to attack them in the rear. The result was a disaster for the Otomo. Their commander Tawara Chikataka ran away. The generals Tagita, Saeki and another called Tsunokuma were killed. along with thousands of samurai and ashigaru. The great cannon 'kunikuzushi' was never used in the battle, and was captured by the Shimazu.

Shimazu Yoshihisa's dream proved indeed to be a good ome for the victors, because near to the Mimigawa were two large ponds about 7 metres deep and 10 metres across. Many of the Otomo died in these ponds, and the flags floating in the water looked like maple leaves. The 25 km stretch northwards to the Mimigawa river from Takajō castle were strewn with the corpses of the slain as the army fleel, nursued by the Shimazu.

In all, Mimigawa meant the end of the Otomo as of a polemic against Christianity, was later to use Mimigawa as an example of what happened to a dalimyo when he forsakes the worship of the gods and Buddhas for a foreign religion:

"Look Look at Oromo Sórin of Burgo. In the days when Sórin was still devoted to the Buddhas and the kami he brandished his power over all of Kyushu and the glory of his name spread throughout the four seas. But after he entered the ranks of Deus the fortunes of was suddenly turned against him. With his eldest son Yoshimume he tell over Hyūga to fight the Shimazu, suffered a crushing defeat at Mimigawa, and had to fice home deserted by all and in desperate straits. After that his house gradually fell to ruin, so prosperous, so flourishing for many generations, the family is practically extinct today."

## RAPID RESPONSE - HIDEYOSHI AND THE BATTLE OF YAMAZAKI (1582)

The battle of Yamazaki provides several illustrations of good practice in samural warfare. It was won because of Hideyoshi's ability to react to a serious situation with a determined forced march and good tactics on the day.

The background is as follows. When Oda Nobunaga was attacked and forced to commit hara-kiri as he rested in the Honnőii in Kvőto, all those who might have been likely to come to his aid were widely scattered and isolated. His brother was in Azuchi, Tokugawa Jevasu was in Sakai, and Hashiba (Toyotomi) Hideyoshi was occupied with conducting the siege of Takamatsu castle, far along the coast of the Inland Sea. A river had been diverted from its course, and was gradually flooding the castle. The absence of these potential rivals was undoubtedly an important factor in Akechi Mitsuhide's consideration of when to strike. Following the death of Nobunaga, the Akechi force marched on Nijō castle, also in Kvoto, and murdered Nobunaga's son and heir Nobutada. They then sacked Azuchi castle, and had Akechi Mitsuhide appointed to a regency by the court.

When the news was brought to Hideyoshi, he immediately realised that only the swiftest of responses could prevent Mitsuhide from consoli dating his position to the degree where the rebellion would have turned into a fait accomplileading to a progressive increase in his support as time went by. Taking great pains to keep the reason for his departure secret from the enemy. Hidevoshi hastily patched up a negotiated settlement, which only required the dramatic suicide of the castle keeper and the acknowledgement of Hidevoshi's possession of three captured provinces. Once this was accomplished, he sent loval generals on ahead as an advance guard, with orders to rouse all his supporters in the Ösaka-Kvöto area and to monitor Akechi's movements

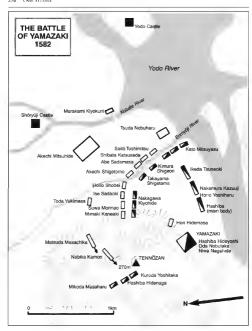
On the evening of the sixth day of the sixth lunar month, Hideyoshi de his army in a forced march of 12 km to Numa, where they stayed the night. Early on the seventh they began a 40 km march further on to Humey, in which castle he rested during the eighth day. On the morning of the ninth he left Hilmelj, and with one more overnight stop reached Amagasaki, following the coast of the Inland Sca for a total of 80 km. The pace then slowed as they approached Kyöto, resting after 28 km at Tonda on the night of the 12th.

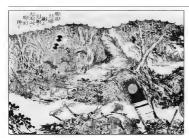
The news of Hideyoshi's approach reached Akech Missiahe on the tenth day He controlled two dilapidated castles (Shōryūji and Yodo), which covered the approaches to Kyōto from either side of the Yodogawa. As Hideyoshi's army was large. Missiahide had no desire to risk being caught inside either castle with his force divided, and resolved to meet his opponent in battle somewhere to the south with the two castles coverna his rear

Hideyoshi's eye for strategy had led him to similar conclusions, and he also realised that a wooded hill called Temokan (270 m), which lay beside a village called Yamazaki, was the key to the control of the area. It completely dominated the road to Kyöto, which was squeezed between Temokan and the Yodogawa. Hideyoshi there upon sent a detachment under Nakagawa Kyohide to secure the heights, which established his presence in the area, and covered his own movements up to Yamazaki.

Akechi Mitsuhide stationed his army behind the small river called the Emmyligawa, which joined the Yodogawa to the north of Tennožan, and provided an oecellent defensive line. The positions of the rival forces are as shown in the accompanying map. On the night of the 12th, two of Hiddyoshi's generals, Nakamura Kazujui and Horio Yoshiham, sent shinobil (ninja) into the Akechi camp, where they set fire to abandoned buildings and generally caused containon. Nakamura buildings and generally caused containon. Nakamura buildings and generally caused containon, which is the proposal to the troops, and took up his own position on the Roshiha left flant.

On the morning of the 13th day, Hideyoshi's army moved forward to confront the Akechi force across the Emmyöjigawa. Meanwhile a fierce battle began for control of Tennözan. Troops under Matsuda Masachika and Nabika Kamon attempted





Left: Horio Yoshiharu and his troops rush to occupy Tennözan before Akechi's side have a chance to occupy it. Horio's name appears on the standard in the forearound.

Below: Hayashı Take toshi shows his great strength by tackling two opponents in his last fight at Uchide-hama on the shore of Lake Biwa, following the pursuit thither from the battle of Yamazaki in 1582.

to fight their way up the paths, but were driven back by arquebus fire, with many casualties. With the dominance of Tennozan thus asserted, Hidevoshi sent his right wing under Katô and Ikeda across the Enmyörigawa to perform an encircling movement. In spite of fierce resistance, they managed to penetrate the forward troops, and turned towards the Akechi main body. At this Hideyoshi committed his left wing from upstream, who were supported by a fierce surge down from the troops on Tennozan. The impetus was too much for the Akechi army, which broke and ran, except for the brave Mimaki Kaneaki, who charged forward with only 200 soldiers, and was engulfed in the sea of Hidevoshi's army. As the army broke. the panic spread back even to Akechi Mitsuhide's own hatamoto. The garrison of Shōryūji castle collapsed as Hideyoshi's army continued a vigorous pursuit, and Mitsuhide fled for his life. He only made it to a village called Ogurusu, where he fell victim to a gang of bandits, the sort usually attracted to battlefields, who preved upon wounded samurai. Their leader thrust a spear at him from within the protection of a bamboo grove, and he fell dead from his horse, thirteen days after arranging the death of Nobunaga.

Hideyoshi's dramatic and decisive victory over the 'thirteen-day shogun' depended upon several factors. The first was his bold decision to nego-



tiate an end to the siege of Takamatsu and forcemarch his entire army back to Kyōto. This gave him an overwhelming superiority in troop numbers, but he was also able to control the ground on which the battle would be fought by advancing rapidly and securing Tempôzan. The



The beginning of the main fighting of the battle of Yamazaki is shown in the Ehon Tovotomi Kunkôki Beside the Yodoaawa the forward ranks of spearmen are about to clash. In the distant right hand corner we see the flags of Tsutsui Junkei. In the forearound the troops of Akechi Mitsuhide try to force their way up the sloves of Tennózan



The end of the battle of Yamazaki. Protected by a bamboo thicket, the bandit leader Nakamura lies in wait for the defeated Akechi Mitsuhide.

battle was clearly well conducted, with good coordination between Hidevoshi's headquarters, the vantage point on Tennôzan, and the generals who only had part of the overall picture; so we can be sure that Hidevoshi's tsukai (messengers) would have kept themselves busy. Nor was there a shortage of opportunity for individual samurai glory, but at no time did this interfere with the primary aim of the engagement. Only one of Hidevoshi's supporters ended the day ignominiously. Tsutsus Junkei responded half-heartedly to Hidevoshi's call to arms, and sat on the pass of Hora ea toge until he was sure that Hidevoshi was winning, before committing his army, 'To sit on Hora ga toge' has entered the Japanese language as an expression for indecision.

The numbers of troops engaged are as follows:

# Toyotomi (Hashiba) Hideyoshi

000
500
000
000
000
000
500

## Akechi Mitsuhide

aito Loshimilsu/Shibala Katsusada	2,000	
be Sadamasa/Akechi Shigetomo	3,000	
fatsuda Masachika/Nabika Kamon	2,000	

#### FIRE AND WATER - HIDEYOSHI AND THE WARRIOR-MONKS (1585)

Many of the greatest generals of the Sengoku Period faced ther most formidable tests when fighting against the armies fielded by the various religious contingents. Old Nobunaga, for example, spent much of his career in a long campaign against the likho-likki of the Ishiyama Honganji. Nobunaga's successor, Toyotomit Hidey-osh, unherited the fruits of his master's success against this particular variety of priest-sodder, enabling him to concentrate on another coterie of warrior-monks, smaller in number, but no less formidable.

The military challenge Hidevoshi faced was from the priest-soldiers based in Ku province, the area that is now covered by the northern part of Wakayama prefecture. This part of Japan has for centuries maintained a very strong religious presence, centred around the temple complex on the mountain of Köyasan. Although Köyasan did for a short period of time maintain its own priest army, its influence was always predominantly a religious one. The first temple on its heights, Kongobuji, was built in 816 by Kükai (774-835), the founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, Kükai, known posthumously as Köbö Daishi, is one of the holiest and most revered figures in Japanese religion. Kövasan, which still receives thousands of visitors and pilgrims, performed two other important functions during the time of the samuras. The first was as a burial ground, and the tombs, if not the bodies of many distinguished samurai leaders. line the path leading to Köbő Daishi's mausoleum. The second was as a place of exile. To go to Koyasan was a way of taking one's leave of the world following defeat or disgrace. A samurai would therefore shave his head and retire to the mountain as an honourable alternative to hara-kiri. Chōsokabe Morichika and Oda Hidenobu both trod this course after their defeat at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600.

Two other temples near by also maintained priest armies On was Kokawadera, of the Tendai sect, the same division of Buddhism as Kyöto's Mount Hiet, whose inhabitaints were slaughtered in their thousands by Oda Nobungan in 1571. The other was Negoroji, of the Shingi sect. Shingi, which literally signifies 'new meaning', was a branch of Shingon founded in the twelfth century but the most Kakuhan (Köku Daschi)

In addition to Negoroji and Kokawadera, across the Kii river lay Ota castle, he Adquarters of the Sarga likki, which occupied the approximate location of today's Wakayama castle. This was the local manifestation of the populist Jódo Shinshih armies of the likó-likki, the same fierce cotter that had defended Ishiyama Honganji and Nagashima against Oda Nobunasa.

It was during the years of Oda Nobunaga's rise to power that the priest-soldiers of Negorory and Saiga achieved their own reputation for skill in the use of firerarms. As noted elsewhere, the chief priest of Negoroji had obtained a Portuguese arquebus within months of the wepon's arrival in Japan. Both temples had gone on to supply contingents of gunners to Enhyman Hongail. Negority was sested by the European Jesum insistonary, we have the proposition of the propos

Vilela described the appearance of the Negoro warriors as akin to the Knights of Rhodes, but surmised that most of those he saw had taken no monastic vows, because they wore their hair long, and were devoted to the practice of arms, their monastic rule laying less emphasis on prayer than on military preparation. Each member was required to make five or seven arrows per day, and to practise competitively with bow and arquebus once a week. Their helmets, armour and spears were of astonishing strength, and, to quote Vilela, 'their sharp swords could slice through a man in armour as easily as a butcher carves a tender steak!' Their practice combat with one another was fierce, and the death of one of their number in training was accepted without emotion. Fearless on the battlefield, they enjoyed life off it with none of the restrictions normally associated with the ascetic life.

Oda Nobunaga first moved against Negoroji and Salga in 1577. Taking advantage of the rivalry 280



The pagoda of the Negoroii, the only building within the monastic complex to survive Hidevoshi's raid of 1585.

that existed between the two sects. Nobunaga and Hidevoshi, while not actually destroying them, managed to inflict sufficient damage upon them to neutralise their threat until the destruction of the Ishiyama Honganii was completed in 1580. Following this defeat of the main branch of the Ikkō-ikki, the surviving warrior-monks of Ishiyama and the provinces north of Kvôto supported Toyotomi Hideyoshi during the Shizugatake campaign of 1583, when they harassed the rear of Shibata Katsuje. In gratitude for this work, Hideyoshi made land available for rebuilding the Iódo-Shinshū headquarters in Kvöto.

The monks of Negoroii and Saiga, however, did not side with Hidevoshi, nor did they petition him for support, but instead very unwisely backed his

rival Tokugawa levasu during the Komaki campaign of 1584. This folly brought terrible retribution upon them the following year. On the tenth day of the third month of 1585, an army of 6000 men under the command of Toyotomi (Miyoshi) Hidetsugu, Hideyoshi's nephew, and Hashiba Hidenaga, Hideyoshi's half-brother, entered Kii province. They crushed four minor outposts, and on the 23rd day of the same month approached Negoroji from two separate directions. At that time the military strength of the Negoroji was believed to be between 30,000 and 50,000 men, and their skills with firearms were still considerable, but many had already crossed the river and sought shelter in the more formidable walls of the Saiga Ikki's Ota castle. Hideyoshi's army therefore put into operation the crudest, but often most effective, tactic in samurai warfare for use when the enemy are occupying a large complex of wooden buildings. Beginning with the priests' residences, the investing army systematically set fire to the Negoroji complex, and cut down the warrior monks as they escaped from the flames.

(Ita castle was under the command of a certain Ota Sakon Munemasa, whose garrison was now considerably increased at the expense of food supplies. The defences of Ota made a fire attack impractical, so where fire had succeeded at Negoroji, Tovotomi Hidevoshi chose water to reduce Ota castle. In a re-run of his successful campaign against the castle of Takamatsu in 1582. Hidevoshi ordered the building of a dike to divert the waters of the Kugawa and flood the castle. Because of the local topography, building the dam along the north, west and south sides of the castle was a more difficult proposition than at Takamatsu, but a long palisade was begun at a distance of about 300 metres from the castle walls and nacked with earth to make a dam. On the eastern side, which was the Kiigawa, the dike was left open to allow the waters in. By the tenth day of the lunar month, the waters of the Kiigawa were beginning to rise around the castle walls. Heavy rain helped the process along, isolating the garrison more completely from outside help.

Nevertheless, the Ota defenders hung on, encouraged at one point by the partial collapse of a section of Hidevoshi's dike, which caused the



The view from the castle of Wakayama, site of the former castle of Ota, shows the estuary of the Kilgawa, which Hideyoshi dammed to flood the castle.

deaths of several besigers as water poured out. Vet soon hunger began to take its toll, and on the 22nd day of the fourth month the garrison surren dered, led by 50 leading samural who committed a deflant act of hara-kiri. The remaining soldiers, peasants and women and children who were found in the castle were disarmed of all swords and guns. Those found to be of samural families were beheaded, while peasants were sent back to their masters' fields. This conclusion of the operation was effectively a forerunner of Hideyosthi's Sword Hunt' of 1537, whereby the non-samural classes were disarmed, thus ensuring that phenomena like the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the Salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel would be most unlikely to happen in the salga likel woul

#### SAMURAI AND IRREGULAR TROOPS -GUERRILLA WARFARE IN KOREA

The tremendous success enjoyed by the invading Japanese arnise dowing the first few months of the Korean invasion in 1592 was eventually bitunted by two developments. The first was the resistance by the Korean navy under admiral Yi Sun-shin, which is described elsewhere. Lesser, known, but also of great importance, was the resistance on land from guerrilla bands of Korean fightees. The Korean armies' of You'd armies? Most were led by Conflict.

cian scholars who had been out of favour with the Korean government and demed the chance of royal appointment. One such man was Kwak Chae-u, who organised an army within one week of the Japanese landing at Pusan, a time when the Korean army was near to total collapse. Kwak Chae-u was from a wealthy family, and sold his possessions to buy arms for his troops, who swelled to about 1000 men within days. Kwak's target was the Japanese Fourth Army under Mori Terumoto, whose advance up the Korean peninsula was made along the eastern coast. His men raided the Japanese camps and harassed sentries. They enticed bands of samurai into dead-end valleys and then slaughtered them, or nelted foragers with rocks and slit throats in the dark. Môri Terumoto's reaction is recorded in a letter he sent home on 26 May 1592:

The Koreans regard the Japanese soldiers in the same light as the pirates. For this reason they retreat to mountains from which they ambush and shoot arrows at the Japanese soldiers when the latter happen to pass by in small numbers. Fortunately wear aron in want of provisions because we can commandeer them in abundance. What I can hardly bear to see is the fact that our soldiers often beat and kill the Korean peasants to force them to deliver their grain."

Reading the above account, it is hardly surprising that the resistance movement flourished. Similar developments happened elsewhere in Korea. The first sege of Chinju by the Japanese was called off largely because of pressure from Korean guerrillas. A guerrilla army approached the Japanese lines from the rear, which greatly encouraged the defenders, and soon afterwards 2000 guerrillas managed to enter the castle while creating a diversion elsewhere. The Japanese amy with more guerrillas at their rear, at dawn on 10 October the assault was called off permanently.

In Chollado province, Ko Kyong-myong succeeded no organising an army of 6000 by June 22nd, and it was in this area of Korea, to the west of the owerall line of Japanese advance to the north, that the guerrillas scored their greatest success. Recasse of their resistance, the Japanese never succeeded in overcoming Chollado during the whole of the first invasion. The Japanese



This painting in the Ch'ungyölsa Shrine in Pusan shows Korean guerrillas raiding a Japanese camp by night. Fires are started and the samurai are cut down

general who took the brunt of these attacks was Kobayakawa Takakage, commander of the Sixth Army. Takakage advanced as far as Chonju, and the subsequent battle, fought on 10 July 1592, was one of the most important victories by the Koreans over the Japanese on land. The Korean Yi Kwang led an army which defeated Takakage and drove his division back to Kumsan. Here he made a further stand, then on 18 August was defeated by an army of 700 Koreans, known as the 'Seven Hundred Brave Men', and forced to retreat to Kaenyong. The shrine of the 700 is one of the most important memorials in Korea. No Japanese troops entered Chollado after this until the attack on Namwon which opened the second invasion in 1597.

Another leader, Kim Chon-il, led his guerrilla troops in a successful defence of the town of Suwon, south of Seoul, against a numerically superior Japanese attack. On 1 August the Japanese garrison forces at Ch'ongju were beaten by a guerrilla army which consisted not only of Korean peasants, but Buddhist monks. These little-known warriors, the Korean equivalent of the Japanese sõhei, appear to have been every bit as formidable as their better-known counterparts. The victorious 'righteous army' at Ch'ongju was under the command of the guerrilla leader Cho Hon and the Ruddhist monk Yongkyu. The most famous leader of the Korean monks was Hyujong (1520-1604). who took charge of the resistance by monastic forces as early as July 1592. Yujong (1552-1617), who led another army of monks, later took part in peace negotiations with the Japanese.

Righteous armies also operated in the northern part of Korea. On 1 September an army under Yi Chong-am attacked Kuroda Nagamasa's garrison at Yonan to the north-west of Seoul Yonan was perilously isolated from the main theatre of Japanese operations, and when it fell to the Korean guerrillas. Kuroda Nagamasa retreated. and the invasion of Hwanghaedo province was put dramatically into reverse. At the other end of the peninsula, the town of Kyöngju was similarly recaptured. Katō Kiyomasa's Second Army, which took the longest route to the north-east through Hamgyondo province, suffered greatly during the Korean winter from guerrilla raids on his lines of communication. Reaction such as that demonstrated helped prevent the Japanese army from gaining a foothold in Manchuria during its brief excursion across the border, and contrasted sharply with the easy victories the Japanese gained against regular troops.

Ankokuji Ekei wrote a letter home expressing his annoyance at the Korean resistance. It is in a similar vein to the thoughts conveyed by Möri Terumoto:

"Cattle and horses are also abundant. Now we commandeered 24 or 25 horses, including riding horses, for our service. What is disgusting, however, is the fact that Korean rebels often shoot at us with their small bows, killing us Japanese. They set fire to Japanese ships and kill the crew,

A feature of the lananese invasion of Korea was the fierce resistance nut un hy the Korean warriormonks. This memorial to them is in Seoul and shows the followers of Yujong (1552-1617). The habily armed troops are wielding composite bows.



too. For this reason we have to scour the streets to punish the rebels." Not all Koreans, however, were guerrillas

fighting against the Japanese. Some formed bandit groups and collaborated with the invaders for their own ends. These men were as ruthless with the patriots as were the Japanese:

"Before long the refugees began to return to the marketplaces of Seoul where they earned a living by selling goods to the bandits. Meanwhile the handits issued passes to co-operative citizens, who in turn were allowed passage through the gate of the city by Japanese guards. Therefore all the citizens came to request the issuing of passes. They were forced to contribute labour for the bandits and did not dare refuse. There were some traitors who spied on the patriotic activities of the brave. and informed the handits of their findings. Consequently, the bandits resorted to ruthless measures, burning the patriots alive outside the South Gate. The corpses piled up below the gate."

Such was the harsh reality of divided loyalties in an occupied country.

## SEA POWER - THE NAVAL CAMPAIGNS IN THE INVASIONS OF KOREA (1592-8)

When Toyotomi Hidevoshi launched the first Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592, his aim was for a swift conquest of that country, followed by an advance into China. The first part of the

strategy succeeded almost totally. That the second never happened was due to two major factors: the resistance by Korean guerrilla fighters, and the remarkable achievement of naval supremacy by the Koreans

The naval campaign of the Korean invasions was initiated totally from the Korean side, and revealed a weakness in Japanese strategic planning. The campaigns of conquest which Hideyoshi had already carried out on the Japanese islands of Shikoku and Kyūshū had depended on making successful sea crossings with large armies. Whether it was the lack of resistance at sea encountered during both operations, or the comparatively short distances that had to be crossed, the Korean expedition was launched under the expectation that the naval aspect of the exercise was little more than that of simply trans porting troops. Nor did the initial landings at Pusan do anything to shake that assumption. The seas around were guarded by a certain admiral Won Kyun, who, when faced with the sight of the Japanese invasion fleet, ran away. The initial advance northwards through Korea then proceeded unbindered

Following this débâcle. Won Kyun summoned help from the Korean admiral who had charge of the sea areas further to the west along the southern coast. This man was admiral Yi Sun-shin. who was to become one of the most celebrated figures in Korean history. Almost as famous as the man himself were his köbuksón ('turtle ships').

which the Japanese nicknamed the mekura bune ('blind ships') because of their fearsome manner of attack like a blind samurai warrior. Compared with the clumsy lapanese transports, the turtle ship was strong, fast and manoeuvrable, but its best known features are better described in Yi's own words, as recorded in his diary:

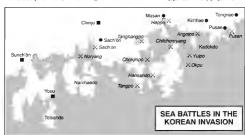
"A dragon head is added to the bow of the ship. We can fire cannons through the mouth of the dragon while we have the deck covered in iron spikes. Although our crew can look at the enemy from the ship, the enemy cannot see into it from the outside. We can penetrate the enemy line with hundreds of ships and destroy them with our superior firenower."

More details come from Yi's nephew. Yi Bun. who accompanied him during the war:

"We have built a new battleship which is as large as a panokson (the largest battleship in the Korean navy at the time). There is a narrow passage on the deck in the shape of a cross, while we have the rest covered with iron spikes to leave no room for the enemy to try boarding tactics. The bow is shaped like the head of a dragon and the stern the tail of a turtle. A gunport is installed at each end of the dragon head, and six more on each side of the ship. The name turtle ship is derived from the shape. In battle, we camouflage the deck

with straw mattresses before we send the ship to the head of the assaulting fleet. If the enemy attempted to board the ship they would be pierced to death by the spikes. If the enemy ships tried to encircle the ship they would be destroyed by the superior firepower of the guns, Indeed, the turtle ship could infiltrate among hundreds of enemy ships at its own will, and wherever it went, made easy prey of all."

The first encounter between the turtle ships and the invading Japanese happened at Okpo, just off one of the numerous islands along the southern coastline of Korea. Yi Sun-shin sailed from his base at Yosu at 2.00 a.m. on 4 May 1592. On 7 May he was joined by other sailors, including Won Kyun, and found the Japanese fleet anchored off Okno beach, where most of the ships' occupants were busy looting. Yi attacked, and when the operation was over the Japanese had lost 26 ships. At 5.00 p.m. on the same day he received reports that five large lapanese ships had been sighted off Happo (present-day Masan). Yi went off in pursuit and destroyed them later that same evening. In the early morning of 8 May he pursued a further thirteen Japanese ships and sank them at Chokiinpo. These three actions, usually referred to collectively as the battle of Okpo, demonstrated a clear deficit in Japanese military preparations.



In the meantime, the main force of the Jananese navy had arrived at Pusan. The army had landed and had begun its march northwards. while the Japanese navy proceeded to round the Korean peninsula to the west, the area of Chollado province. With a fleet of 23 warships, Yi set off to intercept the Japanese move westwards along the coast towards Sach'on. Here he found that most of the Japanese had disembarked with a view to heading inland, and had set up a maku (field curtain) on a hill overlooking the harbour. together with many flags. Twelve Japanese ships lay at anchor and presented an inviting target, but an ebbing tide, and the approach of night, made it impossible for Yi to attack them where they lay. Instead he sailed in, and then ordered a false withdrawal. The Japanese clambered back on to their ships and set off in hot pursuit. By then the tide had turned, enabling Yi to launch a bombardment on the Japanese as soon as they were lured into the open sea. The fighting was figree, and Yi himself suffered a shoulder wound from an arquebus ball.

The next battle, at Tangpo on 1 June, was also prompted by the presence of a Japanese fleet looting the nearby port. It was under the command of Kurushima Michivuki, who sat in some state in his ornate flagship. This became the main target of the Korean fire. Kurushima was hit by an arrow and fell into the sea, at which two Koreans dragged him out and beheaded him. An unusual trophy also fell into Korean hands at Tangpo in the form of a golden fan presented by Hidevoshi to one of his commanders. Kamei Korenori. So great was the confusion among the lapanese fleet that Yi planned to send a raiding party ashore, but one of his patrol boat captains reported that 20 Japanese ships were approaching. Yi left Tangpo, and after two days the enemy was sighted in the bay of Tanghangpo. Twenty-six Japanese vessels, including some very large vessels ornamented with cloth curtains, lay at anchor. Once again Yi attacked and set up a false retreat. The flagship and the other large vessels led the pursuit. Yi closed his formation to encircle them, and set fire to the curtains with firebombs. All the Japanese ships were destroyed.

The defeats at Okpo, Sach'on, Tangpo and

Japanese naval commanders, Kató Yoshiaki, Wakizaka Yasuharu and Kuki Yoshitaka, hankered to engage the Korean navy and defeat them. On 8 July Wakizaka's wishes were granted. The combined Korean fleet lay in the harbour of Tangpo when it was reported to Yi that 70 lapanese ships were anchored in the straits of Kyonnaervang, When Yi reached the force, he found that it was the main Japanese fleet under the command of Wakizaka Vasubaru. The straits allowed little space for manoeuvre, so Yi resolved once again to draw the Japanese out to a wider expanse of sea, which in this case was the vicinity of Hansando (Hansan island). For the third time this manneuvre was successful, and the resulting battle of Hansando became the most important naval defeat suffered by the Japanese during the first invasion. The Japanese followed the lead set by Yi's scouting vessels, and as they approached, Hansando found themselves sailing into the open arms of Yi's 'crane formation'. Yi's diary records the details of the epic struggle:

"Greatly encouraged by the initial victory, all incomparison of the same and the state of the chemy. They fired all the guns and arrows in their possession to burn the ships and kill all men of the hostile fleet. Annihilation was complete within a matter of hours."

A Japanese account notes:

"The enemy ships in hot pursuit after us shot lireballs at our ships, which were burned and destroyed all of a sudden. Many noble lieutenants of the Wakizaka family, such as Wakizaka Sabe'e and Watanabe Shichi emon, committed suicide with their swords."

In all, 47 Japanese ships were destroyed and 12 captured. Four hundred survivors swam ashore to Hansan-do. Wakizaka Yasuharu was far luckier: "However, Yasuharu was ahoard a fast ship

which had more oars than other ships. Because of the mobility of his ship, he could survive, but it was a narrow escape indeed. His armour was hit many times by enemy arrows."

The news of the defeat at Hansando was communicated to Katō Yoshiaki and Kuki Yoshiaka. They sailed from Pusan and stationed themselves half-way to Hansando near Angolpo (the present day Ungchon), where there was little room for the Koreans to manoeuvre. This time Yi's

tactics of a false retreat did not work, and the hapanese, who had learned of the fate walking hapanese, who had learned of the fate walking hapanese who had learned hapanese false fa

These initial victories by Yi had a pronounced effect on the conduct of the invasion. Faced with the additional pressure from guerrillas, Hideyoshi ordered a cessation to the advance into Chollado province, and ordered Wakizaka to fortify the island of Köiedo against Korean naval attack.

By August Yi Sun-shin felt that his navy was now strong and experienced enough to make a direct attack on the Japanese base at Pusan, which had become their main gateway into Korea. Yi now commanded 166 ships, including 74 large vessels. At the end of August he was joined by Won Kyun's fleet, and received a report that 400 Japanese ships had been sighted off Pusan. Yi realised that he had been presented with the opportunity of destroying the Japanese reserve fleet that was ferrying the second wave of invaders to Korea. The ensuing battle in Pusan bay on 1 September destroyed a large number of Japanese ships, but failed in its overall objective either to destroy the entire fleet or to control the port, and on 2 September the Korean navy was forced to fall back. This state of affairs continued until the Japanese withdrawal in 1593.

By the time the second Japanese invasion was launched in 1597, admiral Yi Sun-shin had fallen foul of Korean politics and had been replaced by his old rival Won Kyun; so it was he who first opposed the Japanese landings. His intervention was a complete disaster for the Korean navy. On 8 July 1597 his entire fleet met a huge Japanese armada off Cholyongdo island near Pusan. Poor seamanship, coupled with the fatigue of his troops, and a gale that hampered movement, resulted in a humiliating defeat, at which Won Kyun withdrew. Elated by their success, the Japanese took the initiative, and attacked the retreating Won Kyun at Chilchonryang on 16 July, Large numbers of samurai were stationed on Köiedo island to deal with the Korean survivors who struggled ashore to escape the Japanese boarding parties, Included in

the casualty list were Won Kyun himself, admiral Yo Ok-ki and many others, while over 200 ships of the Korean navy were lost.

The destruction of Won Kyun's fleet allowed the Japanese to advance into Chollado as they had never managed to do in 1592. The siege of Namwön was carried out successfully, and they also conceived a plan to destroy what remained of the Korean navy and open up a sea route around the west coast of Korea to provide a supply line to the north. The Japanese navy was under the command of Todo Takatora, Kató Yoshiaki, Wakizaka Yasuharu and Kurushima Michifusa. However, they were met at Orango by a very small Korean fleet under the command of admiral Yi. newly reinstated after the disaster of Chilchonrvang. Faced with fierce resistance, the Japanese fleet made a temporary withdrawal, while during the next few days Yi planned the strategy for what was to prove his most remarkable victory of the whole Korean campaign. At the battle of Myongyang, which the Koreans refer to as the 'miracle at Myongyang', Yi's fleet of only twelve ships defeated a Japanese force of 133 ships. Yi's great advantage lay with his intimate knowledge of the strange tidal conditions in the strait of Myongyang, which changed direction from north to west and then back again. His chosen base for meeting the Japanese fleet was at Byokpalin, at the extremity of the tidal flow. The historic battle took place on 16 September, As anticipated, the Japanese approached from Orango on a favourable tide. Admiral Yi led a general advance even though the tide was still then against him. The Japanese flagship was sunk, and the head of the Japanese admiral Kurushima Michifusa was taken and placed on a mast-head as an intimidating trophy. At this point the tide turned. Taking advantage of the favourable tide, the Korean ships turned on the Japanese, and

The victory of Myongyang on 16 September 1597 ended the Japanese attempts to control the seas of Chollado as a passage to the north. With the winter of 1597-8 and the siege of Ulsan the Japanese position became progressively unterable, and by September 1598, by which time Toyotomi Hiddyoshi was already dead, Japanese cossessions had shrunk to three fortresses,

destroyed many vessels.

The death of Admiral Yi Sun-shin at the battle of Noryang in 1598. The great admiral lies dying from a bullet wound on the deck of his flagship as the victory is assured. This painting is in the Chesung dang on Hansando island, site of Yi's areatest victory.

Pusan, Sach'ón and Sunch'ón. On 20 September Yi sent his fleet against Sunch'ón to block the retreat of the Japanese forces while a task force landed on nearby Changdo, Within days the Korean invasion was effectively over, and the Japanese fleet was preparing to head home.

There was one further act to play.
On 19 November 1598, admiral Yi intercepted the Japanese armada in the stails of Noryang, a narrow stretch of water which today is crossed by the lone.

stretch or water wind, today is chosed by use rong, Namhae suspension bridge. His surprise attack was so perfect that within hours almost half the Japanese transports were sunk or on fire. Nevertheless, the leading Japanese general, Shimazu Yoshimo, Ide a counter-attack. They concentrated on admiral Yi's flagship, and a bullet hit Yi under the left arm. He died on board ship, but his death was conceiled from the Korean fleet until victory was assured. As the remnants of the Japanese fleet sailed away, the invasion came to an end, stunted on land, and almost destrived at long land the support of the country of the properties.

## CONTROLLING CASTLES -THE SEKIGAHARA CAMPAIGN (1600)

On many occasions in Japanese history, an epic battle was preceded by a very complex series of moves on the part of the opposing generals. The classic example is the case study that follows: illustrating the attempt by the rivals in the battle of Sekigahara to control the two strategic highways of Japan by capturing the castless that Tokadido (the eastern sas caudit, which are from Kyöro to Edo beside the Pacific Ocean, and the Nakasendó (the mid mountain road), which also



linked the two cities, but passed through the central Japanese highlands instead of along the seacoast.

Tokugawa levasu's home provinces centred on

his castle at Edo, and among his fellow regents the one whose territory lay closes to him was Usesig Kagekatsu, the heir of the famous Usesig Kenshin. Following Hideopoul's redistribution of fifest in 1598, the Usesig had moved to Auzu, north of Edo, with a huge revenue of 1.200,000 lockus. Usesig Kagekatsu had supported Ishida Mitsunarn, legsau's rival, against Jessau at the time of a complaint over a political dispute, and when in 1000 Kagekatsu was seen to be building a new castle, leyasu decided that his conduct was worth investigating. Not long afterwards he began to attack leyasu's territory, so the Tokugawa army made ready to oppose him.

At the time, Tokugawa leyasu was in Osaka, at the furthest end of the Tokadoi from Edo. He suspected a trap to draw him out of Osaka, and when he began to head east on 18 June 1600, Ishida Mitsunari and his allies must have thought that the trap had succreded. But leyasu proceeded very leisurely towards Edo, taking fourteen days ower the pourney, and all the while keeping himself fully informed of the situation in the west. As he was preparing to attack Uesqui, Kagekatsu, the message came that Ishida Mitsunari had risen in opposition against him in Osaka, honing that Uesugi would keep levasu completely busy. But levasu had anticipated this move, and delegated the fighting to his local allies, Date Masamune and Mogami Yoshiaki. Their campaigns are covered in the 'battles' section of this book (section IV).

For levasu the issue now became the control of the roads: the mountainous Nakasendô and the coastal Tökaidő; and once again the decisive area was the flatland around present-day Nagova. where the two roads came quite close to each other, in those days the Tokaido and the Nakasendő, heading eastwards, divided at Kusatsu. East from Kusatsu the Nakasendö was entirely dominated by the 'Western army', as Ishida's allies were called. Sawayama castle, near to present-day Hikone, was Ishida's personal possession, and his family lived there throughout the conflict. Ögaki castle, just off the Nakasendö to the south, was where he chose to make his campaign headquarters. Gifu castle loomed over the Nakasendo to the north from its rocky base. and Inuvama, which was on the southern shore of

the Kiso river, was also a Western possession, Near to Gifu, downstream, was a minor fortress called Takehana of which no traces now remain As Ishida was also acting officially on behalf of Toyotomi Hideyori, the infant heir whose regency was being disputed, the mighty Osaka castle was effectively in Western hands. Finally, half-way along the Nakasendo towards Edo, a road branched off to the north, where sat Ueda castle. whose owners, the Sanada family, were gravely to embarrass levasu when he marched west.

For levasu's 'Eastern army', the whole length of the Tōkaidō heading west from Edo was friendly territory as far as their most valuable possession of Oda Nobunaga's old fortress of Kiyosu. Kiyosu was vitally important to the Tokugawa interests. It lay just off the Tökaidö to the north, on a road that led up to Gifu and the Nakasendo, and the river Kiso flowed between it and the Western fortresses like a long-distance moat. Jevasu's other valuable bases were Eushimi castle, which was the last fortress Hideyoshi had built, and lay just south of Kyoto, and Otsu, on the shore of Lake Biwa, from which the bridges of Seta and Uii could be threatened.



A detail from the nainted screen depicting the battle of Sekiaahara in the Watanahe Museum. Tottori This view shows Tokuaawa leyasu in command. seated on a tiger skin above his camp-stool and surrounded by his aenerals within the

maku.



Ishida Mitsunari's objective had been that Liesnei Kagekatsu should attack levasu from the north while he advanced from the west to destroy him. Tokugawa Ieyasu's objective was to attack Ishida's castle of Sawayama or if that place should be abandoned, to march on and assault Ösaka itself. For the campaign to succeed between two armies initially so far apart, each had to secure its own fortresses, and attempt to capture those of the other, so the Sekigahara campaign opened with a number of assaults on these castles. levasu's first move was to reinforce Kivosu, for even if he failed to capture or mask the Nakasendo castles, it was essential that they retain this vital fortress. So, as soon as Ishida's plot was sprung, he sent two flying columns along the Tokaido. The first, an army of 16,000 was commanded by Eukushima Masanori, who owned Kivosu as his fief and had left it in the care of Ösaki Gemba, nicknamed 'Devil Gemba', Ishida Mitsunari was at the time at Ōgaki, which was no more than 30 km away, and had been attempting to persuade Devil Gemba to surrender it to him. He refused, and sent a message east for help. Kiyosu was speedily reinforced by Fukushima, and a second army of 18,000 under Ikeda Terumasa.

With Kivosu as a secure base, the Eastern army could begin an attempt to take the Nakasendo castles. A council of war was held and the decision was made first to attack Gifu and its satellite of

Takehana, Inuvama, being across the Kiso from the Nakasendo, was regarded as less of a threat. Gifu was being held on behalf of the Western army by Oda Hidenobu, who put up a stout resistance. Two Eastern armies crossed the Kiso river, Fukushima concentrating on Takehana, and (keda on Gifu itself. Takehana soon fell, and both armies combined, but apparently none too well, because it had been agreed that both armies should advance together, and Ikeda was already slightly ahead. The taking of Gifu provided an unexpected homis because when it was seen to have fallen the isolated garrison of Inuvama surrendered.

The Eastern army had therefore successfully out the Nakasendo, and apart from the distant (leda, had safeguarded its communications westwards by both main roads as far as Gifu. Fukushima and Ikeda pushed on cautiously along the Nakasendo towards the area of Ogaki, and stopped at Akasaka, one of the post-stations, on or about 30 Sentember, Ishida Mitsunari had now been outflanked. Ogaki lay to the south-east, on the way to Kiyosu, so that far from controlling both roads, the town now looked perilously isolated. Ishida now had to decide whether to abandon it for the security of Sawayama, which he feared, correctly, would be levasu's main objective.

However, while the Eastern army had been occupied in taking Western castles, the Western army had similarly been tackling Eastern-held fortresses. Fushimi was its first objective. levasu

had long realised that when war came, this castle would be a prime target, and before leaving for the east he had visited the keeper of Fushimi, Torii Mototada, to whom he expressed his fears that the castle would not be able to withstand the massive assault that would be brought against it. Torii Mototada replied that the castle would fall even if its strength were multiplied tenfold. He even suggested that levasu reduce the garrison, so that the troops thus freed might be put to better use in his campaign in the east, rather than in attempting to hold on to a forlorn hope. For that was how Torii Mototada saw his role: to divert a large proportion of the Western army while levasu headed east to capture the vital castles of the Nakasendo. Fushimi was expendable if Ishida could be crushed somewhere along the Nakasendo, and as a loyal vassal Torii was prepared to die in his master's service.

The attack on Fushimi began on 27 August, but no impression was made on it despite ten days of fierce fighting and the presence of Ishida Mitsunari himself to spur on the attackers. They managed to set fire to one of the towers using fire arrows, but a samurai managed to put it out, although he was burned to death in the process. Sadly, the fall of the castle came about through treachery. The wife and children of one of the defenders had been taken hostage by the Western army, and a message was sent by arrow to the effect that they would be crucified unless he assisted in betraying the castle. This he did on 8 September by setting fire to one of the towers, and under cover of the flames an assault broke through the walls. This gave the Western army access to the central keep, which they set on fire with fire-arrows, Torii Mototada led five counterattacks until the defenders' numbers were reduced to ten, whereupon he and his family committed suicide

The nearby castle of Otsu, which was held for the Eastern army by Kyögoku Takatsugu, was attacked in October by Tachibana Muneshige and Tsukushi Hirokado. The attack seems to have provided a spectator sport for the people of Kyöto, who flocked to the neighbouring hills and the temple of Mildera, carrying picnic boxes, to watch the course of the fighting. After two days, Kvôgoku Takatsugu negotiated a settlement,

which stands in marked contrast to the actions of Toru at Fushimi. The second day, however, coincided with the day on which the battle of Sekigahara was fought, so there was little point in fighting to the death against an already defeated enemy coalition. His resistance, too, had succeeded in keeping 15,000 men out of the main engagement.

The Western army's greatest success with the castle campaign occurred at Ueda, on the Nakasendő from Edo, Ueda castle was defended by the renowned Sanada family, and the vigour of their defence managed to prevent Tokugawa Hidetada, levasu's son and heir, from taking part in the battle of Sekigahara. Had the defection by Kobayakawa Hideaki not happened, the omission of this sizeable Tokugawa army could well have heen crucial

In fact, thanks to his successes against these castles, including some minor ones near the Tôkaidô where it crossed lse province, Ishida Mitsunari had neutralised all threats to his rear, yet in so doing reduced his capacity at the front. His luck changed on 20 October, when the news was brought to him that Tokugawa levasu had arrived at the Eastern army's base at Akasaka. It appears to have come as a great surprise to the Western army commanders, for all their plans had been based on Uesugi Kagekatsu keeping Ieyasu fully occupied in the east. Here was the evidence that Ishida Mitsunari's strategy had failed. He had Fushimi, and Ōtsu was likely to fall, but leyasu's army was now on the Nakasendo, Ishida was in Ögaki, a castle that could be completely sealed off by part of the Tokugawa army while the rest moved on to his headquarters at Sawayama. To hold Ögaki rather than Sawayama, Ishida commented, would be like holding on to an arm but losing one's head. He decided, therefore, to leave a small force in Ögaki, and to withdraw rapidly up the road to the north to prevent levasu reaching Sawayama. The place where this road met the Nakasendo would in any case be a good defensive position to meet levasu in battle. It was a narrow valley where the enemy's movements could be tightly controlled, before any other roads branched off to let them deploy. The place was called Sekigahara, and the rest, as they say, is history...



## MISCELLANEA

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#### RELIGION AND THE SAMURAL

### Jananese religious tradition

Whereas much of samurai behaviour was influenced by notions of samurai honour and virtue needed by notions of samurai honour and virtue later to be enshrined in the formal martial code of bushidid, no samurai was immune from the all pervasive world of Japanese religion, Japan's "Ive formative traditions" (Shinto, Buddhism: Twe formative traditions" (Shinto, Buddhism: Twe formative to produce a system that can be understood as an entity. Hence the expression that the Japanese are 'born Shinto', and die Buddhist'. Even the founder of the esoteric Shingon sect of Buddhism in the inniti century. AD put it under the protection of tutelary Shinto kami

The samurai of Japan recognised little difference between Shintō and Buddhism, each of which made its own contribution to the religious milieu along with the other traditions. For example, from Shinto came a stress on purification and the avoidance of pollution, which causes offence to the kami. Death in battle required Shinto ceremonies to purify the site, as at the battle of Mivaiima in 1555, fought on an island that was itself regarded as a Shinto shrine. In a similar way, the adoption of Confucian ethics provided the model for the Tokugawa state without any apparent confusion of beliefs. Not only did the various religions mingle. but lananese people have always participated in rituals from a number of different traditions as may be seen at festivals today. The one exception to this rule was Christianity, introduced by St Francis Xavier in 1549, an attitude which was partly to blame for its persecution.

One very important characteristic of Japanese religious belef and practice is that it is by no means a monotheistic system. Instead, various shrines and temples appear to be dedicated to the inhabitants of a vast paratheon of gods. The numerous gods of Shinto are referred to as kami. Historically, he Japanese have been quite content to do without precise notions of what constitutes kami, its very vaquenese expressing something of true kami nature, a concept totally contrary to Western thought.

The willingness to accept different traditions is also recognisable in the attitude that Japanese reli



A woodlock print of a tea ceremony being performed. An appreciation of the easthetics of the ritual of the tea ceremony was a vitally important social accomplishment for a samurat with aspirations to high office. Ishida Missmart, for example, first attracted Hideyoshr's attentions because of his prowess at the tea ceremony rather than his Skills on the battlefield. All the details of the tea room, including the low entrance for the host, the flower arrangement in the tokonoma (alcove) and the tea utensits are well illustrated here.

gion is as much about dong as about believing. There has always been a strong ritual basis to Japanese religion, with ceremonies closely tied to everyday life. Thus there were rites for planning rice and rites for harvesting it, as well as a host of other activities. This close relationship between religion and daily life is still shown today by the scholar hard between the still shown to scholar and the broadtan floodhead is allowing which provide a focus for offerings and prayers in short and simple daily religious rituals.

The samurai would not attend weekly religious services in temples and shrines. Instead, like Japanese people nowadays, they would visit a shrine when they had a need for prayer, such as departure for war. When Old Abohunaga set out on the march that led to his victory at Okehazama in 1560, he wrote a prayer for victory and deposited

it at the great Atsuta shrine near present-day Nagoya. Samurai would also be drawn to shrines on a number of special festival days. Many small Shintó shrines bear a dilapidated or unwanted look for much of the year, but are transformed on the days of their matsuri (festivals), Banners are hung at the torii (Shinto gateway), and the shrine's adherents celebrate, often carrying through the neighbourhood a nortable shrine called an omikoshi. The scene can be raucous and colourful as the omikoshi is lugged or pulled along by scores of enthusiastic youths. However, in the years preceding the Gempei Wars, the sight of an omikoshi promised curses, not blessings, because the warrior-monks of Mount Hiel would bring their omikoshi down to Kvoto to reinforce their demands by the presence of the kami, Respect for the kami is still maintained in Japan, and even tiny wayside shrines, dedicated to kami whose identity has long been forgotten, will still receive offerings and visits, and are cleaned and maintained by local inhabitants.

## Taoism and divination

Much Japanese religious belief was simple folk religion, with prayers for worldly benefits, such as

### WHO WERE THE WARRIOR-MONKS?

The expression 'warrior-monk' is a term frequently encountered in Japanese history. The original word is sõhei (literally 'priest-soldiers'. but popularly translated as 'warrior-monks'), who are particularly associated with the ancient Buddhist foundations of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, near Kvôto, and its daughter temple Onjôii (Mildera), near Otsu, or the temples of Nara to the south: Köfukuii and Tödaiii. There are references to Buddhist temples arming themselves as early as the tenth century, and for the next 200 years armics of sohel were to be used, either in disputes between temples, in disagreements between the temples and the imperial court, or in alliance with a particular samurai family or faction

Contemporary illustrations tend to portray the sohei as rough characters, implying that many were not ordained priests but warriors recruited by the temples. Their traditional weapon was the naginata, a form of glaive, but they were also proficient in archery and swordsmanship. When in arms against the imperial court, the sohet would reinforce their presence by carrying into the capital Kyōto the sacred omikoshi (portable shrine) in which the kami (spirit) of the temple was believed to dwell.

The first major conflict involving sohei and samurai took place at the first battle of Uji in 1180. The Minamoto family used the river Uii as a natural most to hold back their rivals, the Taira. until such time as the sõhei allies from Nara

could reach them. During the action, two sohei from Mildera fought celebrated single combats on the broken bridge across the river. Following the defeat of the Minamoto, the Taira attacked Nara and caused great destruction which effectively ended the Nara sõhei's involvement in the war, but söhei from Mount Hiei assisted in defending Kyöto against Minamoto Yoshinaka. As the Heike Monogatari comments:

"Those whom he entrusted with his order to attack Kiso were not warriors of repute but the chiefs of Mildera and Hieizan, who accordingly assembled their bands of unruly monks..."

We may also note the presence of a religious contingent from Kumano, a Shinto shrine, at the battle of Dan no Ura in 1185

Sõhei from Mount Hiei were involved in the fighting of the Shökyű War in 1221, and provided military help during the attempt at imperial restoration by emperor Go-Daigo in 1333. For the following two centuries the sohei were to be sporadically involved in war, culminating in support for the Asai and Asakura families in 1570 against Oda Nobunaga Nobunaga's reaction to sôhei intervention was a massive raid on Mount Hiel during which the entire temple complex was set ablaze and possibly 20,000 people killed.

The second way in which 'warnor-monk' is often loosely employed refers to the mass-movement Buddhist sects which acquired considerable political power in certain provinces from the fifteenth century onward. These groups reached out to the lowest orders of society, and invariably

safe childbirth, and the role played in this by charms and tallsmans. These are behaviours which are linked to Taoust beliefs. The tradition of religious Taoism was introduced from China in the seventh century AD. It is a very wide system of belief and practices, incorporating divination and geomancy, and expressed through notions of lucky directions, lucky days and years, and a wide range of complex tabous. In Japanese, history Taousm has never stood alone as a separate relationship of the control of the property of the control of the cont

incorporating many elements otherwise identified as 'folk practice'.

There were also the more formal relations

There was also the more formal rehigious system of onnyodo (the way of Jin and yang). The Chinese term yin-yang refers to the two complementary forces of the universe which must balance each other to ensure harmony. Yin is the principle of ordarkness, cold and ferminity. Yang is the principle of brightness, heat and masculinity, and their rice and the property of the property of

acquired political power through military activity. The most important of such movements were the Ikkö-ikki. The second term in the name. 'ikki', strictly means a league, but it has also come to mean a riot, and it was as rioting mobs that the Ikkō-ikki first became known to their samurai betters. The word 'Ikko' means 'single-minded' or 'devoted', and the monto (disciples or adherents of the sect) were completely single-minded in their devotion to Amida, the Supreme Buddha of the Jödo (Pure Land) in the West, who will welcome all his followers into the paradise of the Pure Land on their death, where they will live in happiness forever. The Ikkö-ikki movement derived from an offshoot of the Jodo sect, the Jodo Shinshii, which welcomed all into its fold, and did not insist upon meditation or any intellectual path to salvation. As its clergy were also not required to be celibate or to withdraw from the world, they were able to evangelise among the peasantry much more freely, and its influence grew rapidly

among the common people.

The head of the sect in the fifteenth century was Rennyō (1415-99), who had achteved such fame as a preacher that the rival monks of Mount Hiel had burned his house and forced him to fice north to Kaga province. Here he re-established his headquarters, and very soon his followers became emmeshed in the struggle for supremacy that was going on in Kaga province between various samural clans. The Risko iski monto welcomed flighting, as their faith promised that paradise was the immediate reward for death in

battle, and nothing daunted them. In 1488 Rennyő's Ikkö-ikki revolted against the samurai as a whole, and control of the province of Kaga passed into their hands after a series of fierce skirmishes.

As the fifteenth century drew to its close, the sect spread out from Kaga, and established itself in a series of key locations not far from Kyöto. By 1570 there were two major power bases, the Ikkō-ikki fortress of Nagashima, built on a swampy river delta as confusing to strangers as it was powerful, and the greatest Ikkô-ikki centre of all, the huge 'fortified cathedral' of the Ishiyama Honganji. It was built where Osaka castle now stands, and thus threatened the capital from the opposite direction. These main bases, with scores of others, provided the overall organisation for a fanatical army that was to occupy the time and resources of all aspiring samurai generals until 1580. It was finally crushed by Oda Nobunaga after the longest and bloodiest campaign in the whole of samurai history.

The final aspect of the concept of a warriormonk involves the individual samural leaders
who, at some stage in their careers, took
monastic or priestly work, such as the illustrious
trio of Hojo Soun, Takeda Shingen and Uesugi
Kenshin. These were, however, personal gestures,
and the men they commanded were not warriormonks but retained samurai warriors. Kato
Kiyomasa was a priest of the Nichtern sect of
Buddhism, and bore its motto (Hail to the Lotus
of the Divine Law) on this banner.

that certain days were intrinsically unlucky for

### The samural and the ancestors

going to war.

A further characteristic of Japanese religion is the emphasis upon the ie (household) rather than the individual, as the basic human religious unit. There are Confucian elements here, with the emphasis upon kō (filial piety) as a basis of an ordered society. Nor does this end with the death of a family member, for the most important expression of the primacy of the family in Japanese religion is the central place occupied by ancestor worship, whereby the structure of social relationships within the family unit is extended to encompass the dead. Thus Japanese ancestor worship ensures that death does not extinguish a person's involvement and participation in the life of his family. Instead, by a complex series of rituals designed to keep the ancestors peaceful and content in the successive stages through which they will pass, this continuity is assured

The samural laid the greatest store on ancestor veneration. In early Japan the dead were treated with a mixture of fear and respect. The corpse was of course a major source of pollution, requiring shinto rituals of purification, but the spirit of the dead person was also frightening, as it could linger in the realm of the living. These spirits of the dead were venerated and, to some extent, manipulated, along the journey they had to take in order to become an ancestral kami. The process, which still exists, is carried out through the rituals of Buddhism, and is the best illustration of the blending of Buddhism with native Japanese beliefs. Its most striking feature is that when a person dies he 'becomes a Buddha', a concept contrary to orthodox Buddhist thought. The sequence may be summarised as follows. The shirei (spirit of the recently dead) becomes a hotoke (Buddha). After a period of years there is a transformation to senzo (ancestor) and finally to a kami, as part of the collective spirits of the locality

For the first 49 days after death, the aim is to separate the spirit both from the corpse and from the world of the living. A temporary that (memoral table), of unleadquered wood or paper, is taken away from the cemetery and placed on a low table in front of the bustuadan in the home. Thus is replaced on the 49th day by the permanent that of black lacquered wood, on which the deceased's posthumous name is written in gold. These are very important objects, rescued at great personal risk from burning buildings as if the ancestors lived in the tables.

The separation of the spirit from the body is only regarded as complete on the first Bon (the festival of the dead) following the death, the annual event when all the ancestral spirits are welcomed back into the household. For the next three or four decades the ancestors will be addressed through their ihai, and remembered through various forms of prayer and services. In lananese tradition, memorial services for the ancestors continue to be held on the anniversary of death until either the 33rd or 50th anniversaries, depending upon the tradition, when a final service is held, and the spirit of the ancestor becomes a kami. These ancestral kami remain eternally in the land, and continue to work for its prosperity and that of the family. The impersonal nature of the ancestors does not however indicate that various ancestral spirits have become one. When they come back at Bon, they come back as the ancestors of the village, and each goes to his own family as its ancestors. This process is









Top left: The yashiki (mansion) of a retainer of the Yagyu in Yagyu village, Nara Prefecture, has a very fine outer gatehouse shown here. It is roofed over, and connects to a low plastered wall

features of samurai domestic architecture. The floor of this, the guest room, is covered with tatami matting. Rooms are divided one from another by sliding screens. To the left rear is the tokonoma, an actove where a flower arrangement or a hanging scroll may be displayed. The whole room opens out on to the garden from where the photograph was taken.

Top right: The exterior of the Buke Yashiki (warrior's mansion) in Matsue. It was built in 1730 and was the residence of the Shiomi family, who had a stipend of 1000 koku. It is set within a garden of white gravel and rocks.

Above right: A model in Hyógo Prefectural Museum showing a school in a daimyó's castle town. The sleeping guarters are upstairs, with the young samurai lying on futons. Downstairs they receive instruction as they kneel on tatamu.

Above left: The interior of the Buke Yashiki (warrior's mansion) in Matsue shows many

regarded as continuing as long as there is living memory within the family, otherwise it is lost, and the ancestral kami must be treated as a collectivity.

There is however, a class of wandering spirits

There is, however, a class of wandering spirits known as muenbotoke (Buddhas of no affiliation), who either have no descendants to worship them, or are victims of violent or untimely death, and thus 'remain possessed by the worldly passion in which they died.' It is spirits such as these, often dead samurai slaughtered on battlefields, who provide the rich material for the numerous ghost stories and plays that make up many Noh and Kabuki dramas. Nor was this belief in unruly spirits confuned to medieval times. The spirit of Taira Massakado, who was killed in ADPol. of

enshrined in the Kanda Myöjin shrine in Tokyo. Masakado was a rebel agianst the emperor, and during the Meji Period at the end of the nineteenth century, when the institution of the emperor was being strengthened against the memory of the overthrown shogun, it was decided to move Masakado's spirit from the main shrine to a subshrine. When this was done, local people retised to go to the main shrine, and beyorted tist annual festival, the reason being, apparently, that it was wisest to keep an unruly spirit pacified, and that if Masakado's spirit were deprived of its proper shrine, it would start cusing trouble again.

#### RUSHIDÖ: THE SOUL OF THE SAMURAL

#### Bushido on the battlefield

Bushido, which literally means The Way of the Warror's, is a term almost as familiar as 'samura' itself. Although its principles were present introughout the history of the samural, the end of the Sengoku Pernod and the beginning of the Tokusagwa regime asw an attempt to formalise bushids as a uneresal samural code. Some of the notions of bushido derive from the collected precepts and house laws of the Sengoku dairmó. Many have survived, and much of what they contain are faurly mundane rules about bygiene in castles, or straightforward commands such as that of Kaltó Klyomasa: 'A samurai who practises dancing —should be ordered to commit haraskiri.'

Writings specifically about bushido may be divided into two varieties; manuals of swords manship, where the notion of bushido is based on a practical art and skill, and more philosophical treatises, where the mental attitudes necessary for combat are given wider application. It is also possible to divide the development of bushido thought chronologically into three stages. The first stage is the first 50 or so years of the Tokugawa rule, during which the structures erected by the shoguns were completed, but when there was no certainty that wars had actually ceased. The second stage is the latter half of the seventeenth century, when the lower classes, particularly the merchants, began to prosper at the expense of the samurai. The eighteenth century marked the third stage, when the

samurai class was seeking a new role for itself as the influences of the preceding century made themselves increasingly felt.

One of the earliest, and finest, expressions of bushido comes from the words of Torii Mototada in 1600, who wrote a last letter to bit son prior to the fall of Fushimi castle, which he had defended so valiantly for Tokugawa Jeyasu. It expresses better than any other document of the agt the essential values of loyalty to one's lord which lay at the core of bushido:

Instead I shall hold our against the strength of the whole country, without even one-hundredth part of the men who would be needed to do so, and I shall defend it and die a giorous death. By doding so I will show that to abandon a castle that should be defended, or to value one's life so much as to avoid danger and to show one's enemy one's weakness is not within the family traditions of my master levasus.

Thus I will have taken an initiative that will strengthen the resolve of leyawis other retainers, and in advancing righteousness to the warriors of the entire country, it is not bushid to be shared and avoid death even under circumstances that are not particularly important. It goes without saying that to sacrifice one's life for one's master is an unchanging principle."

Torii Mototada speaks of the Way of the Warrior chushlood, but it is important to note that he sees his conduct as being in keeping with the tradition of service to the ideals of the Tokugawa family, rather than being driven by some abstract philosophical principle. He goes on to remind his son of their family and its relationship with the Tokugawa, referring to the benevolence' of their tord and the 'blessings' they had received at his hands, and he ends with a plea for its son to receiptive that the foundation of a simural's duty is makoto (sincerity). Makoto is an expression found elsewhere in writings on bushild. It is often

## FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH: THE IRIKI-IN AT SEKIGAHARA

The loyalty of Iriki-in Shigetoki found its final expression when he and his samurai followed the Shimazu in their ill-fated support for Ishida Mitsunari against Tokugawa levasu. Their exploits began well with the victory over Torii Mototada at Fushimi:

"When Lord Yoshihiro together with other generals attacked the fortress of Fushimi on 8 September 1600, Shigetoki also wielded a spear and did distinguished service, his vassals Murao Zenbyoe, Katsuda Yajiemon, Onobuchi Gengoro and Osako Yashichiro taking heads."

The long military service of friki-in Shigetoki, which had begun at the age of fifteen opposing Hideyoshi's invasion of Kyushu, was, however, soon to come to an end after taking part in one of the most famous battles in Japanese history. As the account notes, he was supported by valiant chugen as well as samurai, and after his death lived on as a deified kami:

"At the battle of Sekigabara on 21 October Shigetoki was in Lord Yoshihiro's first division. At the height of the battle, (Kobayakawa) Hideaki suddenly turned about, and defeated the army of Otani Yoshitaka, whereupon the armies of Ishida Mitsunari and others were routed. At that time large forces of the enemy separated Lord Yoshihiro's personal following and his advance guard. After the defeat, Shigetoki and the more than thirty of his warriors who had survived, several times fought their way out of the pressing enemy and narrowly escaped death, until all but his followers Iriki-in Hikoemon, Tögö Seita, Murao Zenbyöe, Ösako Yashiro, Maeda Saburófirò, and Yashirō the chugen, perished. Then, on the way to the province, they met the enemy and the seven men, Shigetoki and the vassals, all died on 29 October. He was styled Jushôji Unan Jögyö Koji and deified as Hiyoshi Daimyöjin, which title was later changed to Shigeki Myőjin," (Asakawa 1929: 395)

used as the ultimate justification for an otherwise apparently wasteful act of self-sacrifice by a defeated samurai who is surrounded by enormous odds, and goes willingly to his extinction because of his sincerity. The sincerity of his intentions mingles with the purity of his mission, which requires from him an unflinching devotion to a seemingly honeless cause

That Torii Mototada's master recognised his obligation in giving benevolence is shown by the so-called 'Legacy of leyasu', which the first Tokugawa shogun left for the instruction of his followers. The following are a selection of passages which reflect several aspects of bushido:

"The empire does not belong to the emperor. neither does it belong to one man. The thing to be studied most deeply is benevolence.

The right use of a sword is that it should subdue the barbarians while lying gleaming in its scabbard. If it leaves its sheath it cannot be said to be used rightly. Similarly the right use of military nower is that it should conquer the enemy while concealed in the breast

A warrior who does not understand the Way of the Warrior and the samurai who does not know the principles of the samurai can only be called a stunid or a petty general.

The sword is the soul of the samurai. If any forget or lose it he will not be excused."

In the relationship between Torii Mototada and Tokugawa Jevasu we have an expression of bushido which owes nothing to any sterile formulation dreamt up by a scholar. It is direct, it is uncomplicated, and comes from profound simplicity. In the expressions it uses, it also provides several clues for following the development of bushido as the years of war give way to an uneasy peace.

Similar sentiments are echoed in the Köyö Gunkan, which contains one of the earliest treatises on martial arts. This is the Heihō Okugisho. attributed to Yamamoto Kansuke, one of Takeda Shingen's 'Twenty-Four Generals', who was killed at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. His thoughts on strategy were incorporated into the classic Kövö Gunkan, begun by Kosaka Danjo, and finished after his death by Obata Kagenori in 1616. It includes practical advice on how to wield sword. spear, bow and gun from the point of view of the individual warrior, rather than a troop of ashigaru.

Much of it is very matter-of-fact:

"When pursuing an enemy, if he is about ten paces away from you, rush upon hum and cut hum down. If your enemy is more than ten paces away, be careful when pursuing him, because you need to anticipate the chance that he may dodge and let you run by, or he may turn to cut you down. Sees your enemy. If he is about to cut at you, then block and cut at him, 'you are going to fast, mu past and cut at him, 'you are going to fast, mu past back, block his attack, then cut him down."

"When attacking a castle, keep the wall of the castle on your right side because (you were in the middle of a crowd you would find it hard to move. There are four good reasons for leaving the wall on your right side, the, it is easier to move along the wall; two, it is easier to use your weapon; three, you are safer against arrows when you are not standing in the centre; four, you will find it easier to set into the castle and distinguish yourse! C

As for philosophical matters in the Köyő Gunkan, the warrior's code is best expressed in terms of the relationship between master and follower, Kösaka Danjo derives his image of the ideal warlord from his beloved Skupgen, and from the contrast seen in his heir Katsuyori, whose ways led to the claim downfall. A good leader won battles, while a bad leader lost them. But the

crucial point is that of the relationship formed between the lowtionship formed between the divided and his followers, exemplified best by the willingness of Shingen's old retainers to serve his son Katsuyori both on and off the battlefield. It was the smerrity to their calling that of the old generals of the Takeda to charge the guns at Nagashot, Kōsaka also praises the notion of the individual warrior, because

Right: This dramatic scene from the Ehon Taikoki depicts dying samurai. One attempts to rise, using his sword as a crutch, while around them lie the débris and trophies of war. the dependence that the samurai has on his lord's benevolence must never become one of over-reliance. The loyalty from a samurai to his lord was loyalty given by a unique individual:

"He makes an effort when preparing himself for artion, according to the limits of his capabilities, and in battle he adapts himself to every circumstance in building for himself a reputation for military provess."

In this context it is instructive to compare a book written by one of Tokugwan leyawis retainers, Okubo Tadataka. Mikawa Mongatari was written in 1622, and attributes leyawis triumph to the close spiritual cohesion he achieved between lord and followers. The word benevolence, which Toril Mototada saw as the gift he had received from his ford, a used by Okubo in the land received from his ford, a used by Okubo in olience, the followers respond by loyal and faithful service.

"The loyal warriors would fight in battle for their lord, having themselves completely prepared for death without having any concern for their wives and children left behind them."

Ökubo Tadataka also clearly wishes to die 'with his boots on':

"As long as it is my duty towards my lord, I would like to die in battle in front of his eyes. If I die in my home, though death itself may be for the same reason, it will be death without the primary



objective of a warrior, martial prowess. Further, people may not find my true motive for it, and then there will be no significance attached to it."

Mikawa Monogatari was written during a time when the Ökubo were somewhat out of favour with the shogun. He is frequently reminding his retainers of the long debt they owed to the Tokugawa, and recommends that they look far beyond their immediate difficulties:

"Rushi had to confront death constantly in their duty of faithful and brave devotion to their lord, even during sleeping or eating,"

Both Kösaka Danjō and Ōkubo Tadataka spoke out forcefully against ostentation in a warrior: "Although the following conduct might be

favourable in acquiring one's own domain, you must not consider, even in your dreams, behaving ostentatiously just to gain your own land to administer... Maintain this attitude even after death from hunger."

This is a strange foretaste of the chilling first sentence in the later bushido classic Hagakure, which begins. 'The Way of the Samurai is found in death.' The famous Miyamoto Musashi, too, despised ostentation. In the Gorinsho he explains that the swordsman must have total commitment in his striving for excellence and perfection. If this is the warrior's attitude, then there will be no room for ostentation, and the only limit to achieving this perfection will be death, the ultimate proof of service. Yet all insisted that a warrior's life should not be wasted by being thrown away in a street brawl. Such an ignominious end was not in accordance with bushido:

"When facing life or death, one should use all available tools because it is not our intention as bushi to die with an unused extra weapon."

The decades following Köyö Gunkan saw two other classics of writing about bushido and swordsmanship. The first was the Fudochi Shinmyöroku of the Zen priest Takuan, who taught Zen meditation to the great swordsman Yagyu Munenori. It is a very difficult text to understand, having as its essence the concept of fudochi (nermanent wisdom). It means that the working mind, though always changing, is always attached to nothingness, and therefore to the eternal universe. The more down-to-earth and practical Ittósai Sensei Kemposhó was written in 1653 by

### THE MASSACRE AT SHIKANO CASTLE

Massacres could, and did, occur in samurai warfare, although few are recorded in any detail. The account which follows relates to the time of Hideyoshi's siege of Tottori castle in 1581. Morishita Michitomo and Nakamura Harntsugi were karo (chief retainers) of the Mori family, and were sent from Tottori castle to investigate the situation at nearby Shikano castle. The horror of the scene and the retainers' very human reaction, comes over very strongly in this extract from Shinsho Taiköki. Note also how they do their best to reduce the impact of the mutilation that has taken place by joining together the heads and bodies of the slain:

"Morishita and Nakamura entered the castle gate and as they looked around they saw crucified bodies without heads hanging in a line, and near to them were also the children of the eight rebels who had opposed the lord. 'This is what has happened to these people' was written in large brush strokes on a paper flag set up beside them. They could not endure the pain and shed tears in sorrow as they contemplated each crime resulting from the actions of this detestable fellow. With feelings of great bitterness, they joined together the corpses and their respective heads, and returned to Tottori." (Takahashi 1965; 291)

Kofujita Toshisada, which is a record of his grandfather's talks on the swordsman Itô Ittosai. The work is a practical discussion of combat techniques and the application of them to different situations and different opponents.

## Confucianism and bushido

In popular Western thought bushido tends to be associated solely with Zen. Confucianism. however, was every bit as important an influence. A key figure of the early Tokugawa Period was the scholar Yamaga Sokō (1622-85). Sokō was the tutor and inspiration for Öishi Kuranosuke, the leader of the Forty-Seven Loval Retainers of Ako. whose dramatic revenge astounded contemporary Japan. While retaining a belief in the ideals of Confucianism, Sokō concentrated on the military aspects of the samurai. He was an early advocate of the need to study Western warfare and equipment, a need that was only recognised at a national level two centuries later. He was also profoundly concerned with the inactivity of the samurai class, and a need to find a new role to replace the now unnecessary one of fighting battles. Yamaga Soko believed that the samurai had to serve as a model for society, serving his lord with exemplary devotion, and with no thought of personal gain. He stressed the traditional samurai values of austerity, self-discipline and readiness to face death. Yet Soko was wise enough to recognise the difficulty of applying these ideals to the days of peace.

Yamaga Soko's views, though apparently dominated by military considerations, were very much in line with the current trends towards the social ideals of Confucianism, which valued an ordered society where everyone knew his place. Confucianism, along with Zen Buddhism, was one of the philosophical influences which were to enrich the notions of bushido. In Confucian eyes, good government was based on virtue and example rather than on sheer military might. It laid great emphasis on the relationships between people involved in government, and we see Confucian ideals expressed in the use by Kosaka and Ókubo of benevolence and lovalty. The most important ethical demands made by Confucianism were kö (filial niety) and chii (lovalty), both of which were fundamental to the emerging ideals of bushido.

In applying Confucianism to swordsmanship. the approach was to stress the ethical meaning of sword fighting (kenjutsu), linking prowess in swordsmanship with the warrior's need to serve his master. Here Confucianism met that other great philosophical influence on bushido, the self-denying Buddhism of the Zen sect. Zen Buddhism related swordsmanship directly to the Buddhist goal of attaining enlightenment, and moving towards the achievement of selflessness. By the blending of self and weapon through action, the swordsman moved towards the goal of complete emptiness, which was the aim of all Zen practices. Much, perhaps too much, has been made of the links between Zen and swordsmanshin. In fact, swordsmanship was the possession of no single philosophical system, and to Confucianism and Zen can be added the influence of the ancient Chinese classics, all of which came together to give the 'Way of the Sword', and with it the 'Way of the Warrior'.

The need for a deeper meaning to bushdo, and with it a deeper meaning to the life of the peac-time samural, was the most important challenge facing theorists of the eighteenth century, which produced several writers who were very critical of the developing notions of bushdo Ogyu Sorai (1666-1728) complained about the bad behaviour of the samural class, and linked this to what he saw as their superficial study of the stories of warfare and combatte method. He even went further, and denounced bushdo as a bad tractition sarce the days of the Sengola Pend. To Sorai the control of the Sengola Pend. To Sorai the formed in the Heikle Monogatar and other writings of the Complete of the

"Samurai should ... maintain to some degree their skills in the martial arts in order to be courageous in action, and to refrain from any excess of personal covetousness. Above all they should be able to guide the warriors in their cultivation for eoverning the nation."

Similar notions were also expressed by another Conflucian scholar Yusas Dizan (1708-81) who discussed bushido in his work Jozan Kidan, a book that contains many fascinating anecdores about martial accomplishments, but by this time bushido had left the battlefield and entered the study. Divorced from reality, it could only become a nonstaigic ideal, until the arrival of foreigners in the early nineteenth century confronted Japan once again with the warlike face of its samurai past.

## HARA-KIRI - THE ULTIMATE LOYALTY

## The motivation for suicide The whole of samurai history, from the twelfth

century onward, lays great store on tradition and invoked precedent. One tradition vital to the understanding of samurai behaviour, although it can hardly be called a martial art, is that of ritual suicide.

'The Way of the Samurai is found in death,' wrote the author of Hagakure, the classic exposi-



tion of bushido and its virtues. In times of war the achievement of such a death on the battlefield was prized as the ultimate proof of lovalty, and much genuine grief was shed over the loss of a loval companion or vassal. Sometimes, however, death could actively be sought for its own sake, and there is a very fine dividing line between accepting the likelihood of death in battle and actively seeking it out, which was effectively to commit suicide at the hands of the enemy. An appreciation of the place of suicide in the concept of the loval samurai warrior is therefore essential for understanding the many acts of seemingly wasteful self-destruction we read of in the old war chronicles. Suicide could occur off the battlefield as well as on it, so what motivated this apparent eagerness for extinction, and how could destroying oneself ever be seen as loval behaviour?

The first situation in which suicide was approved of was the occasion when suicide was performed as a result of personal failure. Here the samurai would commit sokotsu-shi, or 'expiatory suicide', the very act itself wiping the slate clean, Such a decision could be spontaneous and dramatic, like the action of the veteran warrior Yamamoto Kansuke at the fourth battle of Kawanakajima in 1561. As Takeda Shingen's army commissioner (gun-bugyō), he had devised the nian by which the Takeda were to surprise the Hōjō Ujimasa and his younger brother Hōjō Utitery commit hara-kiri after the fall of Odawara castle in 1590.

Uesugi army. Realising his bold strategy had failed, Kansuke took his spear and plunged into the midst of the enemy army, committing suicide to make amends for his error

He was not the only senior Takeda leader to die in such a manner that day. Minutes after Kansuke's suicide, he was joined in death by Morozumi Masakiyo, Shingen's 87-year-old greatuncle. To Morozumi a dramatic suicide was a way of dving honourably when faced with what he interpreted as certain defeat. In his case there was no sense of personal failure, merely the culmination of lovalty in joining Shingen in his coming death. The tragedy of both these deaths is that their interpretations of the certainty of the destruction of the Takeda very soon proved incorrect. Reinforcements arrived, the army rallied, and a defeat was turned into victory. Yet two experienced generals had been lost, both of whom would have served Shingen better by staying alive.

Committing suicide was not always a voluntary activity. It could be allowed as an honourable alter. native to execution for a condemned criminal of the samurai class. Sasa Narimasa was 'invited' to



Opposite page: Following the suicide of Matsimage Hisahide after the fall of the castle of Shikizan his son Kojiro cut off his father's head and leapt to his death from the castle walls with his sword through his throat and Hisahide's head in his hands.

commit suicide by Hideyoshi following his disastrous handling of the territory Hideyoshi had given him. Sometimes a daimyō was called upon to perform hara-kiri as the basis of peace negotiations, the idea being that the surrender of a castle could be accepted without further bloodshed provided the current daimyo committed suicide. This would so weaken the defeated clan that resistance would effectively cease. Toyotomi Hideyoshi used an enemy's suicide in this way on several occasions, of which the most dramatic, in that it ended a dynasty of daimyo forever, is what happened when the Höjö were defeated at Odawara in 1590. Hideyoshi insisted on the suicide of the retired daimyō Hōiō Uumasa, and the exile of his son Urinao. With one sween of a sword, the most powerful daimyo family in the east ceased to exist, and effectively disappeared from history.

Instead of the daimyo's death, the victor could be satisfied with the death of his enemy's retainer, which would be most effective if the subordinate was in charge of the castle the victor was besieging. There are several examples of this from Hidevoshi's earlier campaigns on behalf of Oda Nobunaga. The most theatrical occurred when Hidevoshi besieged Takamatsu castle in 1582. It was a long siege, and only looked like being successful when Hideyoshi diverted a river to make a lake, which gradually began to flood the castle. Unfortunately, it was during these operations that Hidevoshi received the dramatic news of the murder of Oda Nobunaga, and knew that he had to abandon Takamatsu rapidly before the Möri clan took advantage of the situation. He hurnedly drew up peace terms with Möri Terumoto, which included the clause that the valiant defender of Takamatsu. Shimizu Muneharu. should commit suicide. The latter was determined to go to his death as dramatically as he had lived. and took a hoat out into the middle of the artificial lake. When he was satisfied that Hidevoshi's men

were taking careful note of what he was doing, he committed hara-kiri.

On occasions, such a suicide provided an honourable end only after extreme privations. Tottor castle in Inaba province held out for an incredible 200 days before it surrendered to Hideyoshi in 1581. Its commander, Kikkawa Tsuneie, inspired his men to this long resistance even though they were reduced to eating grass and dead horses, and may even have practised camin-balism. Tsunere's suicide letter to his son survives to this day. It reads:

"We have endured for over two hundred days. We now have no provisions left. It is my belief that by giving up my life! will help my garrison. There is nothing greater than the honour of our family. I wish our soldiers to hear of the circumstances of my death."

His suicide, along with that of two others, was the condition of surrender.

Another reason for committing suicide was to make a protest. This is known as kanshi. Examples of this are rare, but it profoundly affected one of the greatest daimyō of the Sengoku Period. Oda Nobunaga inherited his father's domains at the age of fifteen, and although he was a brave warrior, showed little interest in the administration of his territory. One of his best retainers, Hirade Kıvohide, tried in vain to persuade him to mend his ways, and when the young Nobunaga showed no inclination to listen to him, Kiyohide but all his feelings into a letter to his lord, and committed hara-kiri in protest. Nobunaga was greatly moved, and changed his ways for the better, with, of course, considerable consequences for the history of Japan.

The one reason for committing suicide which did not meet with universal approval was the practice of junshl, or following in death. Shortly before Shimizu Munchari's dramatic suicide on the lake of Takamatisu, one of his retainers performed junshi in antireptation. Munchari was invited to the man's room in Takamatisu caule the evening before his own suicide was due to take place. Tacre his loyal retainer explained that he whisted to reassure his master about the ease with which hara-kin cou die performed. He explained that he had in fact already committed suicide, and, pulling sade his rooke, showed Munchari his cut open sade his rooke, showed Munchari his cut open

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## A PROLID WARRIOR MEETS HIS END To a samurai, his martial reputation was

all-important, and if he was unable to demonstrate it in battle the disgrace could be unbearable, making life itself not worth living. This attitude is vividly illustrated by this sad little story from the Meirvo Köhan, which adds starving oneself to death to the long list of methods of warrior suicide: "At the time of the siege of Ösaka there was a man called Yabe Toranosuke, a retainer of Lord (Tokugawa) Kii Yorinobu, He possessed great strength and had a two-ken-long sashimono, a three-shaku tachi. and for his helmet badge he had a large that (mortuary tablet) on which was written the

"As there is no lack of flowers at blossom time

"So those in defeat will not escape Yabe Toranosuke.

"Many people saw his departure and all were amazed, but so many followed his horse as he advanced that it made him late, and in the end to his regret he was able to perform no meritorious deeds. Furthermore, his feelings. were wounded by being insulted in the matter of his reputation by some within his family who were inexperienced in the martial arts so be abstained from food for twenty days and thereby killed himself. This was extremely regrettable for a samurai," (Sasama 1968: 341)

abdomen. Muneharu was touched by the gesture, and acted as his retainer's second to bring the act to a speedy and less painful conclusion by cutting off the man's head

However inspiring that example may have been to the lord, there was a fine distinction between junshi and merely continuing a desperate fight. In the confusion of a battlefield the circumstances of a retainer's death could never be clearly established. But when the death of a daimyo from natural causes during times of peace provoked the performance of junshi, such an act was almost universally condemned. In such cases a loyal retainer committed suicide to show that he could serve none other than his departed lord, an act

that most commentators regarded as utterly wasteful. During the Sengoku Period such an act may have been approved of, and indeed some retainers did have little left to live for, but in the later times of peace junshi was a deliberate. premeditated and uppecessary act, poble, perhaps. in its sentiments, but scarcely helpful in maintaining the stability of a dynasty.

In the early Edo Period, as many as twenty leading retainers of various daimyo were known to have committed junshi on the deaths of their lords. For this reason strong condemnation was made of junshi. A better way to serve one's departed lord, the bakufu argued, was to render equally loval service to his heir. But junshi was firmly engrained in the Japanese mentality. It had been abolished originally by an imperial decree as early as the year AD3 (9, yet still the tradition persisted, and as noted above, reached its peak in the Sengoku Period. A strong condemnation of it is found in the so-called Legacy of leyasu, the house laws left by the first Tokugawa Shogun in 1616. but at the death of his grandson, the third Tokugawa Shogun Jemitsu in 1651, five of the leading retainers of the Tokugawa committed junshi, a remarkable gesture against the law they themselves had formulated. A further attempt to ban it was introduced by the shogunate in 1663, and included the statement

"In the event that a lord has a presentiment that a certain vassal is liable to immolate himself, he should admonish him strongly against it during his lifetime. If he fails to do so, it shall be counted as his fault. His heir will not escape appropriate nunishment."

Five years later, an instance of junshi occurred among the retainers of the recently deceased daimyo of the house of Okudaira, but little action was taken against the family because of the great service the Okudaira had rendered to the Tokugawa in previous years. (Their ancestor had been the defender of Nagashino castle at the time of the famous battle.) The family of the actual performer of junshi were not so fortunate. His two sons were ordered to commit hara-kiri, and his two sons-inlaw, one of whom was of the Okudaira family, were exiled. Other daimyo finally took note, and from the mid-seventeenth century onward the practice of junshi effectively ceased until it came dramati-

One of the most remarkable memorials to samurai heraism is the 'hlandy ceiling' of the Yögen-In in Kvāta, When Torii Mototada committed suicide as the castle of Fushimi fell in 1600, his blood stained the floor. The floor was preserved and now forms part of the ceilings in three Kyōto temples. This section shows the most vivid bloodstain of all, which is Mototada's handprint from his death agonies. Other dark stains are smeared blood



cally to the attention of modern Japan in 1912. On the eve of the funeral of emperor Meiji, general Non and his wife committed hara-kiri. Non had commanded troops in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, and led the battle to take Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. It was an act that astounded his contemporaries because of the bizarre disloyalty to the emperor's wishes that the illegal act implied. It was also sobering evidence that the samurai spirit lived on in the Japan of the twentieth century

## The act of hara-kiri

The motivation behind suicide is much less well appreciated than the means whereby it was carried out, which was usually the well-known act of cutting open the belly, the literal translation of the expression hara-kiri. If the two characters which make up the word hara-kiri are reversed it produces seppuku, a word unfamiliar to Western ears, but which is regarded as less vulgar by native Japanese speakers. Hara-kiri, which has been much described and much discussed, was a particularly painful act of suicide in that the samurai himself released his spirit from its seat in the abdomen by a swift and deep cut with his dagger. The rite was somewhat modified in later years to allow the presence of a second, who cut off the

The earliest reference to hara-kiri as an established tradition may be found in the Hogen Monoagtari. Uno Chikaharu, whose calling of his pedigree we noted earlier, was captured by the enemy so quickly that they did not have time 'to draw their swords or cut their bellies'. This state ment is so matter-of-fact that it clearly implies that hara-kiri was an established practice among samurai. The first named individual to commit hara-kiri in the war chronicles is the celebrated archer Minamoto Tametomo, who committed suicide in this way as hoatloads of Taira samurai approached his island of exile.

The first recorded account of bara-kiri after defeat in battle is that of Minamoto Yorimasa following the first battle of Uji in 1180. His suicide was done with such finesse that it was to provide a model for noble and heroic bara-kirs for centuries to come. While his sons held off the enemy. Yorimasa retired to the seclusion of the beautiful Byödő-In temple. He then wrote a poem on the back of his war-fan, which read:

Like a fossil tree From which we gather no flowers Sad has been my life Fated no fruit to produce.

He then thrust his dagger into his abdomen and cut himself open, thereby releasing his spirit in the most beroic and painful way that can be imagined. In Japanese religious beliefs, the centre of a man, and of his spiritual being, was his hara, or abdomen. In cutting open his centre and disembowelling himself, the warrior was exposing to the world the purity and sincenty of his whole intention. Yorimasa's act set the standard of excellent conduct which subsequent generations were expected to emulate.

The performance of hara-kiri by the defeated Hôjô în 1590, noted above, was a case in point, and would not have disgraced Minamoto Yorimasa. The retired daimyō Hōjō Ujimasa and his younger brother Höjö Ujiteru were ordered to commit hara-kiri as a condition of the peace treaty. Each took a bath dressed themselves correctly and wrote their farewell poems. Uiimasa's ran as follows:

Autumn wind of eve Blow away the clouds that mass O'er the moon's pure light. And the mists that cloud our mind Do thou sweep away as well.

Now we disappear Well, what must we think of it? From the sky we came Now we may go back again That's at least one point of view.

As both thrust their daggers into their abdomens and withdrew them, Höjö Ujinori, as their second, cut off their heads at a blow. He was about to commit junshi with the sword when li Naomasa grabbed his hand and prevented it. Hara-kiri was not limited to warriors, or even to

men. For example, two samurai and four wet nurses cut themselves onen after the execution of Minamoto Yoshitomo's four infant brothers by the Taira. Nor was suicide confined to the act of hara-kiri. When Imai Kanehira committed suicide at the battle of Awazu in 1184, he did it by iumning head first from his horse with his sword in his mouth. Some later examples are quite bizarre. Legend tells us that Tögö Shigechika had

## TAKEDA SHINGEN GRIEVES AT A DEATH AT MIMASETOGE, 1569

The loss of a valued comrade could be bitterly felt, as shown by this extract from the Kovo Gunkan about the death of a warrior at the battle of Mimasetoge in 1569, when the Höjö ambushed the Takeda army as they withdrew towards Kai province and safety

"On this day it was said that 3,769 heads in total were taken by the Takeda army. On the other hand, there were also 900 casualties on the Takeda side. We were confronted and attacked from up on the mountain and in flank from an encircling force, although if we look at the war situation we acknowledge that the Hojo side had many casualties.

"However, Asari Umanosuke, who as the vanguard of the Takeda army had engaged Höjö Tsunanari was killed by gunfire. Shingen grieved over this, and it was said that he buried his body, constructed his grave and conducted the memorial service." (Köyö Gunkan, from Rekishi Gunző (2) 1980-20)

failed to capture a certain castle, so had himself buried alive, fully armoured and mounted on his horse, staring in the direction of his failure. Miura Yoshimoto is supposed to have taken leave of the world after the siege of Arai castle in 1516 by cutting his own head off. A cousin of Akechi Mitsubide and fellow victim of Vamazaki. Akechi Mitsutoshi performed the unprecedented act of committing hara kiri and writing a poem on the door with the blood from his abdomen, using a hrush

The most bizarre proof of the value attached to the tradition of suicide may be found in three temples in Kvôto, When Torii Mototada committed seppuku in Eushimi castle in 1600, the bloodstained floor was taken and preserved. It was then cut into three sections and now forms the 'bloody ceilings' of the temple halls. When one's eyes become accustomed to the gloom, the huge bloodstains become apparent, including, in one corner of the ceiling, a distinct and chilling handprint.

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## FOLLOWING IN DEATH

The practice of Junshi, following one's departed lord through suicide, is honoured in this extract from the Tatkoki because it occurred on the battlefield, not in peacetime, when such acts were regarded as wasteful. It refers to the siege of Ulsan in Korea in 1598.

"A retainer of Môri Terumoto who was defending the third balley, called Relzei Minbudaiyu Motomitsu...had been ordered by Kobayakawa Takakage to defend the outer wall which was not yet completed...

"...the Ming army divided up and attacked Motomitsu, who was accompanied by soldiers under his command to right and left, they shouted and fought deeperately. They fought hard for several hours but gradually grew weary from lighting and there were few of them that did not meet death in battle. The enemy joined in for a victory and attacked increasingly. Releze Motomitsus wielded his naginata like a waterwheel, sluying 15 or 16 enemy nearby, and A-sanuma Buzen no kami received death in battle. To their right and left over 20 men under his command fell flighting together.

"Because Shiromatsu Zen'emonnojó, Igazaki Matabelinojó and Yoshiyasu Tarobei were by chance in another place, they regreted that they had not been together to be killed in hattie, and when they took charge of Motomitsus' corpse they performed the act of cutting open their bellees in the shape of a cross on that very spot. Those who were warriors regarded it as a splendid thing to cat so loyally like this. At the Take no Selfoji (temple) in Kunigame in Ezumo, which was Reizel Motomisus's field, the names are recorded of over 20 men who were kulled in the hattle, and there are also the three men who followed him through suicide, because their that iffunerary tablets) were installed there and grants of land received.

"...Horio Yoshiharu received Izumo as a fief from Lord Jeyasu, and when he entered the province he heard the history of this temple. He was deeply impressed by this display of bushidô and made a grant of temple land." (Yoshida 1979 Vol 3:182)

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For the convenience of the reader rechnical terms in Japanese are followed by a translation Hattles and steges have the date of the primary engagement in brackets Castles and temples are also indicated. and all entries are fully cross referenced, includ ing the maps with the locations of important battles

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